

# *The* **SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY**

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JULY, 1931

George Washington and "Entangling Alliances"  
J. G. Randall

God's Vagabond: Saint Francis of Assisi  
Gamaliel Bradford

Renouncing War and Establishing Peace  
David Y. Thomas

Reid Hall: A Relic of Old Paris  
Dorothy Louise Mackay

The Tall Tale In Texas  
Mody C. Boatright

The Significance of the Pan-American Movement  
J. Fred Rippy

The Poet Laureate of Hope End  
Annette B. Hopkins

The World and Its Mail  
Norman L. Hill

Books

Brief Comment

Books Received

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T H I R T I E T H Y E A R

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**GEORGE WASHINGTON AND "ENTANGLING  
ALLIANCES"**

J. G. RANDALL

THE effect of historical inaccuracies or of deliberate forgeries upon international relations has been brought forcibly to mind by events of recent years.<sup>1</sup> In 1927 amazing forgeries of Mexican documents, some of them carrying the fabricated signatures of President Calles, when published by the Hearst papers in this country, produced a distinct sensation; and the relations of both Great Britain and the United States with Russia have been seriously affected by the famous "Zinoviev letter," the falsity of which has now been disclosed. Thus the matter of historical authenticity becomes much more than an academic question. It is a factor profoundly affecting the public relations of nations; indeed inaccuracies and forgeries may well contribute to wars. It is therefore a matter of importance to ask how many of our historical conceptions to-day are based upon errors, or upon false foundations as to fact or interpretation.

There are certain historical notions that are well-nigh universal. They constitute part of the mental furniture of the average citizen. An excellent example is the belief that it was Washington who used the phrase "entangling alliances" in laying down fundamental principles as to our relations with European countries. In the writings of publicists, in the speeches of politicians, in newspaper editorials and cartoons, there are continual references to this famous phrase which

<sup>1</sup> P. W. Wilson, "Forgeries that have Made History," *Current History*, XXXIII, 187-194 (November, 1930).

is usually put into the mouth of Washington by bare reference as if on the assumption that Washington's words are so well known that the original of the supposed "quotation" need not be presented. It would seem, therefore, to be high time for a sober historical inquiry into the matter.

Briefly, the fact is that the famous phrase "entangling alliances" came not from Washington at all but from Thomas Jefferson. In his first inaugural address, March 4, 1801—in every way a notable state paper—Jefferson announced his political confession of faith, and gave his countrymen a statement of what he deemed the "essential principles of our Government." As to foreign affairs he advised "peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliances with none."<sup>2</sup>

It is true, of course, that Washington did deal with the matter of alliances in his Farewell Address of 1796. His actual words as revised for delivery to Congress were as follows:<sup>3</sup>

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none or a very remote relation.—Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns.—Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course.—If we remain one People, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; [when] belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by . . . justice shall counsel.

"T is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world;—so far, I mean, as we are now at

<sup>2</sup> Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, I, 323.

<sup>3</sup> There were ghost writers even in Washington's day. The Farewell Address was written by Hamilton and copied by Washington. The text as found in W. C. Ford, *Writings of Washington*, XIII, 316-318, is followed above, except that certain deleted words are not reproduced.

liberty to do it—for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements, . . .

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.—

One might ask, What is the point of this exact quotation of Washington's words and of setting them off against the words of Jefferson? Was not Jefferson himself a great leader whose words are well worth quoting? And did not Washington advise against extending our political connection with Europe? An affirmative answer to both these questions may be readily given. And incidentally it may be added that no responsible American statesman of the present day, whether in discussing the Kellogg peace pact or in considering the merits of the World Court or similar matters, has any serious intention of departing from the wise and salutary counsel of both Washington and Jefferson, whose ideal, by the way, was not isolation, which even in that day was impossible, but independence, neutrality in matters that did not concern us, and harmonious relations with other countries.

The nub of the matter is not to deny that the avoidance of "entangling alliances" is sound policy, nor to refute the claim that such avoidance is in line with the principles of the "fathers," but to note the fact that loose quotations from Washington without looking up Washington's actual words constitute a pernicious practice which is commonly accompanied by irrational inferences from the words cited; and to make the plea that, if straight thinking is worth anything, then historical quotations intended to affect present-day policies should not be vaguely or irrationally employed. In making any historical quotation, it is fair to demand at least three things: that the words of the original be looked up and quoted precisely; that the quotation be given in such a way as not to do violence to the meaning and intention of the original as shown by a study of the context; and that any applications of the quotation to present-day affairs be made with an intelligent understanding of the extent of the analogy between the historical circum-

stance at the time the statement was made and the present event with which it is linked. Furthermore, a historical citation should be offered merely for what it is worth. It should not serve as a substitute for sound discussion of the merits of the main question treated.

The usual reference to Washington's words on the subject is hardly more than a vague groping for a passage which cannot be exactly recalled from memory; but there is a well-known chain of newspapers in this country which carries the following motto: " 'Honest Friendship With All Nations—Entangling Alliances With None.'—George Washington." In other words, here is a case where Jefferson's words are quoted exactly, indicating that the source has been consulted, but the words are ascribed to Washington! The reader may draw his own conclusions as to the fairness of this type of historical juggling.

Since Jefferson's words are quoted, and since they are attributed to Washington, an inquiry as to the policies of both Washington and Jefferson is in order.<sup>4</sup> Washington wrote in a day of European struggle and intrigue and in an age of violence growing out of the French revolutionary wars. He had been a beneficiary of the French alliance of 1778 which was a powerful factor in the attainment of American independence from England. This, by the way, is the only alliance ever made by the United States.<sup>5</sup> When the French government had assumed that the alliance was still in force in 1793 and had attempted to enlist troops on American soil, bring captures into American ports, and set up French prize courts within American territory, Washington had wisely demanded the recall of the French diplomatic agent Genêt and had issued his proclamation of neutrality, pledging that we would main-

<sup>4</sup> For illuminating discussions of important phases of early American diplomacy, see the following articles by C. A. Berdahl: "The Early Attitude of the United States towards the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes," *League of Nations Chronicle*, vol. III, no. 2, p. 2; "The Early Attitude of the United States towards the Principle of International Organization," *ibid.*, vol. III, no. 3, p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> During the World War the United States was not allied with the other enemies of Germany. The official documents of the period always refer to the "Allied and Associated Powers."

tain a conduct "friendly and impartial" toward both belligerent groups and that American citizens would be punished for infringement of this neutrality. According to his interpretation the alliance of 1778 was not applicable to the existing war because, among other reasons, it was not a defensive war on the part of France, nor a war which had any relation to the purpose of the original alliance. In the furious contest of Federalists and Anti-federalists under Washington the international situation had been used by both sides for party purposes; and the bitter conflicts between pro-French and anti-French interests had come near to disrupting the American body politic. Furthermore, for centuries it had been traditional that a general war in Europe inevitably involved America, not because of world questions being involved, but merely because the American continent had been a kind of pawn of European diplomacy and European rivalries. Bearing these things in mind, Washington advised not that we should have nothing to do with Europe, not that we should not coöperate with European countries on matters of general international concern or of American concern, not even that we should avoid all alliances whatsoever, but that it would be "unwise . . . to implicate ourselves . . . in the ordinary vicissitudes of her [i.e. Europe's] politics, or the ordinary combinations or collisions of her friendships, or enmities." This advice to avoid questions that are essentially or primarily European is by no means a counsel of complete isolation or a warning that we should not deal with European countries on matters that are common to Europe and ourselves. As to alliances, Washington advised that we "steer clear of permanent alliances," adding that "we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies." This reference to temporary alliances as well as the qualification of the warning against permanent alliances (to the effect that existing engagements be scrupulously kept), shows how far Washington was from any notion of absolute isolation. Besides the warnings thus far mentioned, Washington also warned against acts of our citizens which might

give just offense to other nations. In his fourth annual address to Congress, November 6, 1792, he said:<sup>6</sup>

Observations on the value of peace with other nations are unnecessary. It would be wise, however, by timely provisions, to guard against those acts of our own citizens which might tend to disturb it, and to put ourselves in a condition to give that satisfaction to foreign nations, which we may sometimes have occasion to require from them.

The admonition that Americans be mindful of the rights of other nations indicates that Washington's other remarks as to avoiding matters of European politics should not be given a truculent interpretation; for the reciprocal nature of international relations was ever in Washington's mind. Efforts toward the peaceful and judicial settlement of international disputes had received powerful endorsement under Washington in connection with the Jay treaty of 1794 in which various questions in dispute with England were referred to joint commissions of arbitration.

As to Jefferson, the true author of the phrase "entangling alliances," the pacific nature of his policies is well known. During the Napoleonic wars he was ready to go to great lengths to avoid involvement in the European conflict, even to the point of shutting off American commerce by the embargo. Jefferson continued and further clarified the policy of "non-participation" in European affairs, sometimes miscalled the policy of isolation. His words along this line in his third annual message to Congress, October 17, 1803, are very pertinent:<sup>7</sup>

Separated by a wide ocean from the nations of Europe, and from the political interests which entangle them together, with productions and wants which render our commerce and friendship useful to them and theirs to us, it cannot be the interest of any to assail us, nor ours to disturb them. We should be most unwise, indeed, were we to cast away the singular blessings of the position in which nature has placed us, the opportunity she has endowed us with of pursuing, at a distance from foreign contentions, the paths of industry, peace, and happiness; of cultivating general friendship, and of bringing collisions of interest to the umpirage of reason rather than of force.

<sup>6</sup> W. C. Ford, *Writings of Washington*, XII, 209.

<sup>7</sup> P. L. Ford (ed.), *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, VIII, 273.

One may well ask whether the effect of the widespread quotation of Jefferson's words "entangling alliances," with all the implications as to present international policies that are made to attach to these words, is not precisely the opposite of the true intention of his mind. At any rate, one may be justified in taking the last words of the above passage and pointing out their appositeness to present-day international affairs: ". . . bringing collisions of interest to the *umpirage* of reason rather than of force."

Both Washington and Jefferson, in the passages quoted, were addressing not Europe, but their own countrymen. They were counseling restraint and international reasonableness on the part of American citizens. Both stressed the advantages of the separating ocean and of our natural location not as a justification for a policy of isolation, but rather as an insurance that, so long as we made good as an independent power fulfilling international obligations, we need fear no attack from Europe. As we of today look back upon that period, one of the most significant factors to bear in mind is that foreign questions constantly engendered internal partisanship. The first three of our presidents, because of efforts made in the direction of peaceful relations with European countries, were subjected to the severest partisan attacks at home: Washington because of the Jay treaty; Adams for his efforts toward peace with France in 1800; and Jefferson because of his resolute refusal to permit the United States to be dragged into the maelstrom of the Napoleonic struggle.

When President Hoover laid the revised World Court protocols before the Senate, we saw in cartoons and editorials renewed references to Washington and "entangling alliances." The phrase has become once more a tool of anti-World-Court propaganda. What one finds here is a misapplication of a misquotation. A misquoted passage is taken; and inferences are drawn from it which would not even be justified if the quotation were genuine. Both Jefferson, in advising that appeal be made to the "umpirage of reason," and Washington, in the various instances of peaceful international adjustment that

arose in connection with the Jay treaty, favored principles which are essentially those of the World Court today.

From misquotation it is an easy step to other historical inaccuracies. In current discussions concerning the Court it is incorrectly stated that the Court is a mere "subsidiary of the League" and that the people of the United States in the presidential vote of 1920 "rejected the League" by a majority of 7,000,000. This is a misinterpretation of the meaning of the election of 1920; for Harding's senatorial record and his campaign speeches reveal that he did not consistently and unconditionally oppose entrance into the League. His references to an "association of nations" might well be interpreted as a bid for the support of those who favored the principle which the League embodied. In a statement signed by thirty-one prominent Republicans shortly before the 1920 election, friends of the League were asked to vote for Harding as a means of getting the United States into the League. Thus many supporters of the League voted for him, and a great many others voted for him for other than international reasons. As to having political relations with the League, the United States has been doing that for years in connection with humanitarian enterprises, conferences as to disarmament, and various other activities. Another incorrect impression that seems to be abroad is that the World Court protocol has been rejected by the United States Senate and that a reconsideration of this rejection is being asked by President Hoover. It may be well to recall the fact that on January 27, 1926, the Senate of the United States passed a resolution agreeing to American adherence to the Court with reservations, and that this was done by the overwhelming vote of 76 to 17. Also it should be remembered that on March 3, 1925, the House of Representatives, despite the fact that the ratification of treaties does not lie within its functions, passed a resolution expressing "its cordial approval of the said court and an earnest desire that the United States give early adherence to the protocol establishing the same." The recorded vote on this resolution was 301 to 28. The court is, it should

be added, the fruition of a movement essentially American in its background and history, a movement which has been favored by Presidents McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover, and fostered by such secretaries of state as Hay, Root, Hughes, and Stimson. Which of these American leaders could be accused of departing from the true spirit of Jefferson's warning against "entangling alliances"?

In all these discussions of international policy, when great leaders of the past are quoted, much may be gained if the careful historian's attitude of fidelity to fact be preserved. No harm can come from an honest and genuine quotation of Washington's or Jefferson's words; but as to the implications or conclusions to be derived from them, individuals must necessarily differ. As to the particular words "entangling alliances," which have been singled out for special treatment in this article, a proper and honest quotation can never be objectionable, though it might indeed be said that the truth which the words contain is so universally accepted that it partakes somewhat of the nature of a platitude. We do not need to be continually told that two and two make four. So with "entangling alliances." We all oppose them; and on this matter there is no really vital difference of opinion. As to the propagandist use that is made of the phrase by cartoonists and editors, however, there is need for a great deal of clarifying discussion.

## GOD'S VAGABOND: SAINT FRANCIS OF ASSISI

GAMALIEL BRADFORD

### I

**I**N THIS developing twentieth century the immediate world of space and time has become so ample, so rich, so varied, in its hurrying, crowding luxury of interest and splendor that it seems to absorb and engross us altogether, especially as the sense of any other world has grown more and more obscure and dim. It is then surely curious and perhaps profitable to turn back seven hundred years to a man like Francis of Assisi, to whom the things of the other world, eternal things, were so vivid and so real that he literally cast the joy and the splendor and the glory of this world under his feet and trod them in the dust.

Francis Bernardone, born about 1182, was the son of a well-to-do traveling merchant of Assisi. He was brought up in ease and luxury and seemed at first disposed to dissipation and riotous companionship. But he had a tender heart and a vivid imagination. These things soon made him sensitive to human misery and above all keenly alive to the injustice of his having the good things of the world while so many others were wholly without them. Since his mind was as logical as his heart was sympathetic, the next step was to discard his own advantages utterly, and to stride right out into the empty world with the spirit of Christ as his only possession. Rich in this, he preached Christ, he practiced Christ, he lived Christ, and with the aid of the church and of those in authority, he established an order of followers, whom he sent out from his little chapel in Assisi to preach the gospel as he saw it, all over the world. He himself, after two unsuccessful attempts, got as far as the Orient, in 1219, in the track of the crusaders, and preached the gospel to the heathen and even to the Sultan, though without converting him or attaining the

ideal of martyrdom, which seemed so desirable. When Francis returned to Italy, the aura of sainthood had already gathered about him, and his death in 1226 is enveloped in the usual cloud of unprofitable miracles, culminating in the mysterious *stigmata*, or impress of Christ's wounds upon the saint's body, a cloud of myth and legend from which it is almost as difficult to disentangle the real man as in the case of Jesus himself. Yet Francis, like Jesus, was so vividly and intensely human that even the adoration of seven centuries is not enough to obscure him entirely.

The first principle of Francis's religion was that of absolute, complete, uncompromising poverty. It seemed to him that not only the possession of money, but the desire for money and what it brings, was the root of all evil. And it is difficult not to agree with him that if you could get rid of that desire, most social and economic evils would settle themselves. Modern society, all human society, is composed of a few people who have a great deal, and who incidentally always want more than they have, and a vast number who violently, passionately want what belongs to, or at any rate, is in the possession of, the others. If you could once thoroughly eradicate the fatal wanting, all the economic problem would be settled. Get rid of it, want nothing but Christ, said Francis. Seven hundred years later Tolstoi adopted much the same attitude. But Tolstoi hardly attempted to get beyond this world, while Francis had the immense compensating possibilities of the other world to support him.

When I was twenty and was engaged to be married, my love and I came to see the world for the time something as Saint Francis saw it. We too felt that we should give up luxury and wanting, should discard the comforting equipment of material life, to which we were accustomed, but of which so many millions were destitute, and adopt voluntary poverty for the good of the world and our own souls. As a letter of that time expresses it: "We should give up everything, live not only simply, but in poverty, with the poorest of clothes and the simplest of food, giving up everything material, every-

thing tending to outward things, not because we want to be ascetic, but because we will have nothing to draw us from the life within and because we want to set an example of forgetting all the luxuries and comforts of the body. We want to build a little house somewhere, perfectly plain and poor, and live there in every way just as peasants would live."

We were twenty, and simple, and foolish. Our parents and relatives and friends ridiculed us and scolded us and reasoned with us, and in the end forced us—to let our ideals go, for better, for worse—I wonder? The only point of importance is that Francis of Assisi did not let his ideals go, he let father and mother and home and wealth and friends all go hang, and followed God. When his father argued with him and bullied him and finally dragged him before the bishop to be rebuked for taking what did not belong to him, Francis came quietly into the assembled throng, tore off even every rag of clothing and threw it down at his father's feet, declaring that from that day on he had a father in heaven who would provide for him. There are moments when I wish I had behaved as Francis did.

He had no doubts or hesitations or difficulties. Or if he had them, he overcame them by the goodness of God. As for money, he spurned it, rejected it, cast it from him, from the beginning to the end. As the *Mirror of Perfection* has it, "Francis, the true friend and imitator of Christ, despising all things which are of this world, above all detested money and by word and example led his followers to despise it as if it were the devil." They were to subsist by God's loving support, and if they relied upon it, it would not fail them. This does not mean that Francis advocated direct beggary as the entire means of livelihood. On the contrary, he was always insistent upon honest labor. Those who followed him should work as they had been accustomed to do and should receive proper reward for it. Only the reward should not go beyond the bare means of subsistence, and if there was any superfluity, it should be immediately passed on to those who were in greater need.

For Francis not only condemned and contemned money in its immediate form. He was still more hostile to the accumulation of it in possessions of any kind. No radical of the present day could be more bitter in his denunciations of capital, not only in its far-reaching aspects of vaster ownership, but even, perhaps still more, in the petty grasp on small visible holdings to which men cling with a madder grip than they extend to airy claims which they cannot see but only imagine. The owner of a cottage or a cow is a capitalist just as much as is a Rockefeller or a Ford, and he hates to have the cow or the cottage taken away from him, just as they would hate to lose their millions. All wrong, says Francis, and he speaks right out about the whole business: "I don't want to be a thief, and to have what others lack is to be a sheer thief and nothing else." Those who followed him were to count nothing as belonging to them except the clothes on their backs, and even those were often to be turned over to any who might be more greatly in need of them.

Evidently Francis was starting the greatest fight in the world, the one all fundamental reformers have undertaken, the fight against human nature. Even before his death he saw the huge forces of greed and avarice, the desire for gain and the desire for power, breaking in on the rule he sought to establish. Over and over he enjoined upon his disciples that they must keep the simple principles before them—love, quiet, faithful labor, persistent self-sacrifice, above all the fundamental idea of not wanting, not wanting the things of this world, rooting them out of your spirit altogether. And with the high-wrought, lyrical imaginative touch that makes so much of his charm, he breaks out into a hymn of rapture to his spiritual bride, our Holy Lady Poverty: "To trample under foot is to contemn, and Poverty tramples all things under foot, therefore she is queen of all things. But, oh, my holy Lord Jesus Christ, pity me and my Lady Poverty, for I am tortured with the love of her, nor without her can I find repose. . . . Oh, who would not love this Lady Poverty above all others?"

Undeniably in these raptures and vehement assertions and injunctions of Francis there is the touch of extravagance and excess, which sometimes repels and estranges. There is the mediaeval quaintness of expression, there is the ascetic forcing, which makes you feel the ideal to be elevated beyond human reach. What tempers and sweetens all this in Francis is the peculiar flavor and relish of sympathy and tenderness. When his demands seem most impossible, you feel that his penetrating eyes look right down into your heart and see the weakness as well as the strength. Does not the whole depth of the tenderness shine out in this lovely sentence from a letter of his later years? "And I shall know whether you love God and me, his servant and yours, if you do this: see to it that there shall be no brother in the world, no matter how much he has sinned, who if he has once met your eyes, shall go away without your pity. And if he does not ask pity of you, do you ask it of him." No harsh injunction about poverty could ever chill the infinite loving-kindness of that.

## II

The second great fundamental principle of Francis's religion was the principle of obedience, and it seems hardly likely that this would be any more to the taste of the twentieth century than the principle of poverty. The vast individualism that has developed during the last hundred years does not greatly relish the notion of blind obedience to any one for any purpose. Yet it must be admitted that the ideal of obedience is a very restful thing. When one has struggled long with doubtful courses, anxious above all things to do the right, but utterly unable to see where the right lies, when one has come to have a hopeless mistrust of one's reason for guiding one anywhere and to feel that the responsibility for action is the most terrible burden in the world, the dream of obedience to some one who will take all the responsibility and all the burden, to some one who knows, to some one who even thinks he knows, is an exceedingly alluring one.

It may appear that what is apt to be the earliest phase of

obedience, the submission to paternal authority, was not very conspicuous in the case of Saint Francis. But as he went on with his life and work, he came to feel that obedience was a most essential virtue, not only for others, but for himself. Great heretics in the religious sphere, like great radicals in the political, are apt to have the instinct of rebellion, even of destruction. They have often the blind impulse to root up and overthrow existing institutions to get rid of their defects, with a secure confidence that the dynamic creative force of mankind will provide something better in their places. But Saint Francis was by no manner of means a rebel, either by instinct or by practice. Like Abraham Lincoln, he was essentially constructive rather than destructive. He wanted to make over the world, but he wanted to make it over by love, and love does not destroy.

From the beginning of his career he showed his profound respect and submission to the authority of the church. There might be errors, there might be defects, but such a magnificent power in the world was to be used, not to be battled with. Therefore he approached Pope Innocent III, and Pope Honorius III, and his intimate friend Cardinal Hugolino, who afterwards became Pope Gregory IX, with an inimitable combination of reverent tact and straightforward simplicity, which repeatedly secured for him the permissions and the authorizations he required.

Nor was the obedience or the submission confined to the higher powers or to those whose exalted rank necessarily imposed. Francis enjoined upon all who loved him at all times the profoundest respect for even humble representatives of the church. They were to be honored and heeded for their office, independent of what they might be in themselves. Even when the hand that ministered at the altar was corrupt and unclean, you were to kiss it, not for what it was, but for what it did. Never did Francis miss an opportunity to impress this duty of obedience and submission upon all who followed him. It cannot, indeed, be denied that here, as in other things, there are elements of the fantastic, of extravagance and excess.

Such, for example, is his likening of complete and implicit obedience to death, since a dead body at least does absolutely what is required of it. And the story runs that he ordered an erring brother to be buried up to his neck, till death seemed imminent, then asked him if he was dead, and on his agreeing, let him go with the injunction to obey his superiors as a dead man would: "I want my followers to be dead, not living." But here again it is not the extreme illustration but the principle that counts.

To Francis there were two roots of the supreme, self-resigning obedience. The first root was intellectual. You were to give up, to eschew, to rid yourself utterly of, the pride and exaltation of your intelligence. There has been endless controversy on this point. As later scholarship inevitably made its way into Franciscan pulpits, as into all others, innumerable pleas and explanations have been offered for departing from the founder's uncompromising attitude. But that attitude is really simple enough. Francis knew what the pride of the intellect is, knew also its abysmal weakness: he had probably had example in himself of both. Learning and scholarship are always too ready to exalt themselves, and they are of no account when once they are placed in competition with the light and the power of the spirit. Francis lived by the spirit, and he wanted others to do the same.

And as the first root of obedience is the humility of the intelligence, the obliteration of intellectual pride, so the second root is the abasement of the will. It is the determination to do things simply because you want to do them that kills. This is what you must root out and tear up and overcome. You are told to go and do things. Go and do them, no matter whether every impulse of poor, fragile human nature rebels or not. You are to face ridicule and scorn and discomfort and torture and death, simply because you are ordered to do so, without debate or dispute or discussion or delay.

After which, even for saints like Francis, or rather supremely for the saints, there remains the qualification that when human obedience grows too distasteful, you can fall

back upon the will of God, beside which all human command is dwarfed and insignificant. Thus, when the highest authority of the church suggested that he should make some alteration in his rule, Francis gently but absolutely declined to comply: "I, most Holy Father, did not place those precepts or words in the Rule, but Christ. . . . Therefore I must not and I cannot change or remove the words of Christ in any way whatever." For there is degree in obedience as in other things.

Yet all the time I confess that what most appeals to me in Francis's gospel of obedience is the getting rid of responsibility, throwing the burden of settling life upon some one else. It seems to me that this is what I have always longed for, and yet I wonder if, after fifty years of erratic independence, I should really relish it. So, alas, of all of Francis's virtues. In him they appear exquisite, but an old and weary body, saturated with this world, might find them onerous in practice. The marvel of Francis is that he practiced what he preached. But then he believed in God and in a future life, and perhaps that makes all the difference.

### III

The third great principle of Francis's religion was that of chastity symbolizing in its most vehement form the conflict between the baser, more animal instincts, and the obedience to the higher, spiritual self, an obedience even more difficult and even more significant than the submission to the external will and commands of others.

As with Francis's other principles, there is something about this one also strange, if not quite repellent, to the whole intellectual attitude of the present day. The growing tendency of the later nineteenth and opening twentieth century is to establish a unified human nature, to recognize all the natural instincts as not only respectable but normal and desirable, not to be fought with and repressed and restrained into unnatural fury and turbulence, but to be directed and guided and developed to their fullest satisfaction, limited only by the

simple dictates of expediency and common-sense. It is needless to say that the view of Francis and of his age was totally different from this. The animal elements in our nature were the province of the devil, at any rate the devil was given power over us by means of them. It was our duty, our highest religious function and divine privilege, to control and subdue these elements by the power of God working through conscience to a higher, remote, future end—an end conforming to God's will and leading to our own supreme final happiness, beside which the mere, immediate gratification of the animal instincts seemed ineffably tame and poor.

At any rate such self-conquest meant everything to Saint Francis of Assisi. And from the hour of his first conversion his effort was to subdue and overcome the weaknesses of the flesh in every possible way. As to the grosser temptations of sex, there is the strange legend, so much associated with other saints that it is difficult to give it more than a legendary character, of his rushing out naked and burying himself in snow-banks to teach the rebellious passions the indispensable lesson of frigidity. Much more valid and significant are the general comments and warnings as to the danger of association with the opposite sex: "Dear brethren, we ought to avoid the intimacy, the conversation, even the sight of women, which are the occasion of ruin to so many, all the more zealously when we realize how such things disturb the weak and weaken the strong."

Yet it is interesting to find that, for all these general injunctions, which no doubt were rigidly applied and acted upon, women played a considerable part in the saint's life, as was only natural with a temperament so sensitive and so quickly and obviously responsive to all the more delicate emotions. There was the somewhat shadowy Roman lady, Madame Jacopa de Settesoli, to whom Francis seems to have turned for comfort and advice when he was in the capital and who was opportunely present with him in almost his very last moments. Still more, there was the exquisite Saint Clara, who in her youth cast aside wealth and worldly happiness as Fran-

cis did and made it her glory to establish an order of feminine piety in intimate association and affiliation with his. And to Clara even more than to Jacopa Francis turned for encouragement and inspiration in some of the darkest moments of his career.

But Francis's subdual of the lower instincts extended far beyond any contest of sex. All immediate fleshly pleasures and indulgences were to be rooted out and got rid of, for the mere power of overcoming them, if for nothing else. The body, this wretched body, which must so soon be food for worms, why cater to it, why pamper it, why caress it? And in his quaint, strange fashion, he sometimes abused it familiarly, chiding it as "Brother Body," sometimes he spoke of it as "the ass," to be whipped and bullied and made to travel and bear burdens just exactly as its spirit owner might desire.

Doubtless this abuse of the body went to the usual excesses. It was not only denied, it was tormented. Doubtless there were extravagances of penance and self-humiliation which seem almost childish, as when the saint ate a bit of chicken for the good of his health and then in an agony of remorse, had one of his followers hale him into church with a rope around his neck to do penance for his indulgence.

But the acme and climax of Francis's self-struggle was undoubtedly his experience with the lepers. These unhappy creatures were at that time to be found in Italy in considerable numbers, and of course collected in the usual colonies. Francis had always regarded them with the peculiar horror of a sensitive nature, had pitied them, had been ready to aid them as he could—from a distance, but had shunned all intimate contact with them in instinctive disgust. Then one day, about the time of his conversion, he was riding in the country when a leper came in his way. His first, natural impulse was to throw the man a gratuity, give him his blessing, and pass by on the other side. But the whole power of the new life that had come upon him said, no. Here was the opportunity to show the stuff that was in him at its fullest and richest. He went right up to the leper, not only gave him what he had

about him, but embraced him, and treated him in every respect as a brother and a friend. From that hour he felt that he had fought the great fight and won, and ever after the lepers were an object of peculiar tenderness and respect and of his constant injunctions to those who followed him. For the lepers merely symbolized the highest victory that a man can win in this world, the victory summed up in the exquisite phrase of the "Fioretti," *perfetta letizia, vincere se medesima*, the victory over self, which, alas, some of us never achieve at all.

#### IV

It would be an entire mistake to assume that the religious life of Saint Francis was in any way centred in the effort to apply these cardinal principles to himself. On the contrary, his first, unfailing impulse was to extend his rich possession to others, all others. At the same time it would be an equal mistake not to emphasize adequately in him the richness and depth of the inner spiritual life which must always be the perennial source of any inspiration that is imparted.

This inward ardor appears in him from the day of his conversion until the end. Again and again in the midst of his most active labors Francis withdrew into himself, buried himself in the solitary communion with his Creator from which alone he could draw the vigor and the power to do his work. Sometimes such isolation had its moments of despair. Demons tormented him, actual external demons as he appeared to think, at any rate demons of doubt and question and hesitating uncertainty, as to his powers, as to his accomplishment, as to his salvation. Then the sweet, compelling, involving rapture of God would once more overcome him, and he would return to the world more than ever determined to give all that was in him to making it over and making it what it ought to be and what God would have it.

For the essence of the man, after all, was action, to be up and doing something, for God and other men. It is charmingly typical that the first manifestation of the religious influence in him was the effort to repair a church. That was

the kind of man he was. Prayer and contemplation and adoration were all very well. Nobody could have too much of them—provided they did not crowd out other things. But this was a world of work. You could not live in it without working. Above all you could not save it without working, and he was going to work as long as he had life in him, to help to see that it was saved.

When a man comes to dealing with men, to influencing them, to acquiring power over them, so that he can lead them whither he will, it becomes a matter of singular interest to analyze his sense of that power and his motive in acquiring it and using it. In other words, how much of his own personal ambition, his own glorification, enters into his desire and his effort to benefit his fellows. If it be said that it is ungrateful and ungracious to probe so deeply and so closely into the more human and perhaps the baser side of those who have given their lives to apparently unselfish labor, the answer is that if we find them somewhat akin to ourselves, we shall be better able to imitate them, and also for some of us there is the further sufficing answer, that the investigation is profoundly curious. As Sainte-Beuve said: "Let us not be afraid to surprise the human heart naked, in its incurable duplicity, even in the saints." For the saints, if they really are saints, are sure to come well out of the trial, and to be left more lovable and more imitable, if not more admirable.

There is no doubt but that Francis in his youth cherished dreams of vast and vague ambition and greatness. He was interested in large projects, he was interested in chivalry and soldiership and the chivalric ideal. At one time, when there was strife between Assisi and the neighboring Perugia, Francis with some of his friends was captured and detained as prisoner in the rival city. His fellow captives wondered at his constant cheerfulness and contentment. "Why should I not be cheerful," he answered. "Here to be sure we are in prison, but the day will come when I shall be adored by the whole world." The same secure, cloudy, dream confidence

seems to have inspired much of the effort and agitation of his early life.

Then God got hold of him and in appearance at least he cast all these visions and hallucinations away. He, the humblest and meanest of God's servants, had been chosen to do God's work. When there was such a mission and such a calling, how could there be any thought of worldly exaltation or glory? The servant of Christ had enough to do to promote the cause of his Lord without thinking of any advantage or future reputation for himself. And yet—and yet—one wonders. When you assure an inquiring disciple that you owe such leading position as you may have to the fact that you are "a greater sinner than any one else in the whole world," is there not still a lingering satisfaction in the sense of being the greatest something? When you abase yourself in the depths of humility, is there not always a suggestion of the saying of another distinguished Italian of recent years, Mussolini, "I am not intoxicated with pride, I should like to be intoxicated with humility," and is there such a great difference in the two intoxications after all? Again and again in Francis himself we seem to get a glimpse of this bitter struggle with the devouring, persistent ego, which will make its own self-glory out of what honestly means to be the bitterest denial of itself. And is there not the profoundest possible depth of human meaning in the lovely words of Thomas of Celano, who is not generally the loveliest of Francis's biographers: "*Sic totum in laudibus hominum vivimus, quia nichil aliud quam homines sumus*"? "Thus we live all over in the praises of men, because we are men and nothing else."

This strain, or perhaps remote savor and relish, of earthly glory appears, or is suggested, in the most active agency of Francis's mission to his fellow-men, his gift of speech. Unfortunately we cannot judge of this agency as fully as we should wish, since we have no record of what the preacher actually said, but only of some of the impressions he produced upon his auditors. It is clear that he was not impressive in appearance, a little, sallow, insignificant person to look at. Yet

the minute he began speaking, there was such a pervading earnestness in his words that all sorts of hearers were carried away, "even the most learned men, weighted and freighted with dignities and glories, wondered at his sermons and were overcome with a profitable awe in his presence." And it is evident that Francis himself felt the danger in such success. Again and again he cries out that those who would follow him must eschew the vain glory of speech, must use their gifts only to magnify God and to perform wonders in his service. Yet with it all one realizes perfectly that a sensitive temperament like his must have felt in every nerve the superb excitement which comes with the power to sway men whither you will by your tongue and your imagination. It is God working through you, no doubt, but it is God working through *you* and not through anybody else.

And as the sense of power and the exaltation of the ego comes with the exercise of oratory, so with some temperaments it comes in the habit of leadership and the practice of wide and systematic governmental organization. It does not appear that this was so much the bent of Francis as of some others, Saint Ignatius for example. His method and his instinct were rather for quiet labor with individual souls. Yet as his order grew and his mission developed, the necessity of organization was almost imposed upon him and he met it with the ability of his clear intelligence and the tremendous zeal of his working force. But what strikes me most here again is the significance of the phrase given to him in the *Mirror of Perfection*: "There is no prelate in the whole world who would be so feared by his subordinates as God would make me feared by my brethren if I so wished. But God has given me this grace, to be content with all things as if I were the humblest." "Let us not be afraid to surprise the human heart naked, in its incurable duplicity, even in the saints."

And Francis's management and ruling of men was not free from the strain and irritation and friction which such ruling almost necessarily involves. It was obvious that his extreme ideals could hardly become popular or practical with-

out considerable modification. When men of the world, men of practical affairs and executive capacity took hold of the order, they were impelled to modify it, almost insensibly, even when they were as sympathetic as Pope Honorius and Cardinal Hugolino. Francis himself felt that the modification was inevitable, yet he protested with his whole soul against yielding an inch. The change seems to have chiefly centred in Brother Elias, and it is interesting to see the different views of this figure taken by those who take different views of the order and its purposes. To the strict followers of Francis Elias, in spite of his undisputed devotion to Francis himself, is anathema, little short of a traitor, while those who interpret more freely feel that Elias's action really established the order as a great working power in the world.

What is most interesting in Francis's human relations is not his large executive efforts, but his immediate contact with individual souls. Here his touch was instinctive, exquisite, and prevailing. Spirits of diametrically opposite tempers clung to him and adored him with equal devotion. The Master understood, he penetrated into the deepest and most hidden corners of men's hearts and saw what went on there and knew and recognized that nothing darker or more shameful went on there than went on in his own. Like the other great Saint Francis, he of Sales, and like Fénelon, Saint Francis of Assisi was a supreme director of souls, and could turn them into the right way, sometimes by sharp and severe rebuke, when it was needed—as when he bade the erring brother, who had soiled his fingers with dirty money, fill his mouth with ass's dung—more often by supreme sympathy and the loving, comforting touch, which eases burdens and lightens the dark places, and makes the troubled, groping footing more firm and more secure.

For the man's mission in life was incontestably the gathering and garnering and saving of souls. And if there is a more joyous and more satisfying occupation, I do not know where you will find it. As D. L. Moody, who was perhaps an American Francis, seven hundred years later, expressed it,

"There is no joy in the world like that: the luxury of winning a soul to Christ, the luxury of being used by God in building up his kingdom." And if Moody and Francis got a certain personal glory out of it, who shall grudge it to them?

## V

But the freshest and most delightful of all the elements of Francis's character is unquestionably the impulse of wandering, of joyous, untiring, inexhaustible, vagrant peregrination. It is one of the basic impulses of human nature, perhaps the basic impulse, the desire of new things and fresh experience, of turning perpetually from one phase of life to another. It is the splendid impulse of youth. Only in most of us the swift flight of years, the clouding conventions of civilized life, the involving burden of social prejudice, numb and kill the original impulse in this case as in so many others. But the sweet, sunny, vagrant ardor crops out at least in the aspirations of the poets, as in the lovely spring cry of Catullus,

  Jam mens praetrepidans avet vagari,

or the wilder murmur of the rash hero of the old dramatist,

  Let rogues be staid that have no habitation,  
  A gentleman may wander.

And again there is the musical travel-sentence of old Burton, "For peregrination hath such an infinite and sweet variety that some call him unhappy who never traveled, but beholdeith from his cradle to his old age the same, still, still the same." Only Burton traveled but in spirit, like so many of us. Francis's restless limbs wanted to waft his spirit all over the world. When he was young, he was fascinated by the wandering dreams of chivalry and knight errantry, and again by the vagrant music of the troubadours, and in later years he used to call his proselyting followers the chivalry of God and used to pour out his religious ecstasies in the troubadour form.

With this instinct of sweet general vagrancy, with the

pleasure of letting one's feet stray whither they will, there is the further delight of varied human contact, of seeing endless human faces, and exploring endless human souls. There was once a social-minded lady who said, "I should like to meet everybody in the world." In the same way we feel with the great human poets, the Chaucers and the Shakespeares, the wide love of human nature and human beings, just because they are human. Saint and sinner, doer and dreamer, all are interesting, all are acceptable, because we find something of all of them in our own hearts. The essential elements of this far-traveling human interest are first a limitless, inexhaustible curiosity and second a considerable indifference to one's own personal comfort, in other words a constant tendency to forget oneself in the lives of others. And both these elements are undyingly conspicuous in Saint Francis. He had the vast curiosity, the interest in all human souls, where they came from, what their nature was, where they were going to. And he had the instinct, the formed habit of making himself at home wherever he might be. In the vigorous and active portion of his life, when "for the space of ten or twelve years his body never had rest, circulating through varied and far-flung regions," his principle seems to have been that which he loudly proclaimed, "*Nam ubiunque sumus et ambulamus, habemus semper cellam nobiscum,*" or in the words of the old poet Donne, holding up the snail as an example,

Be then thine own house and in thyself dwell,  
Inn anywhere, continuance maketh hell.

Also, besides the instinct of vagrancy in itself, and the interest of humanity, there is the infinite delight in out of doors, and this is always evident in Saint Francis. He was willing to meet the crowds in cities, he did not shrink from lepers in body or from lepers in spirit, but what he above all loved was wandering in the fields and woods, the bright air, the broad sky, the sun, the wind, the clouds, and the living creatures inhabiting all this. There is a sunny sweet old

play of Richard Brome, called "The Merry Beggars," which breathes all through it the delicious spirit of vagrancy. The central figure has the charming name, Springlove. He is a steward, and a faithful servant, and spends his winter hours over his master's accounts and the tedious minutiae of daily care. But when spring comes, and the blossoms burst, and the nightingale and the cuckoo begin calling, calling, the blood in Springlove calls too, and he must up and away, leaving master and duty behind him, and follow the cuckoo and the nightingale.

Saint Francis had something of Springlove in his soul, and he too heard the cuckoo and the nightingale when they began their calling. He too felt the charm of the spring flowers and the lure of narrow, winding paths leading perhaps nowhere, or perhaps anywhere. When the call came, he was ready to arise and follow. And he loved all the living creatures and the creatures that might appear not to have life. With his usual quaint exaggeration, he cherished and revered even the stones on which he trod and the water he had to use for washing. He loved the flowers and the birds and the cicadas. In that strange, unearthly Canticle, in which he poured out his lyrical, poetical aspiration, he hailed all the works of God with exuberant praise: "Praised be my Lord God with all his creatures; and specially our brother the sun, who brings us the light, fair is he, and shining with a very great splendor: O Lord, he signifies to us thee." And there is the delicious story of his preaching to the birds, which appears in so many different forms. When Francis was preparing to discourse one evening out of doors, he was interrupted by the mad twitter of the swallows who gathered in clouds all about him. And at first he smiled and let them twitter. But finally he remonstrated: "Sister swallows, you might let me have my turn." And the swallows were suddenly silent, there was not one single twitter, while the saint held forth to them on the goodness of God.

For all this out of doors of Francis is penetrated, permeated with God. It reminds me always of the sweet story

of the two young lovers, sitting on an open hillside, watching the light grasses bent all one way in the light south wind, like a group of Fra Angelico angels. And the lady murmured, "You know, my soul also is swayed gently, like the grasses, in the wind of your love. Only that would make me the flower and you the wind. And I had rather we should both be flowers and God the wind. What could be more exquisite than to be swayed forever hither and thither in the wind of his love?"

It is this pervading presence of God that gives Francis's spirit of vagrancy the final and crowning touch. It is perhaps delicious enough to roam and wander for the pure joy and revel of it. But how much of depth and delicacy and grandeur is added when you feel that it is your duty to wander, that you are called by God to travel over the wide earth, seeing all things, and visiting all men, so that you may enlarge the boundaries of God's kingdom. This is what Francis felt. He lived all his life in the intoxication of it. He imparted the intoxication to thousands who have followed him. Go forth, and do my bidding, and bear my message to the whole wide world. That was Saint Francis of Assisi, God's Vagabond, and prouder in that title than in the glory of kings or the resonant splendor of conquerors. And because the charm of inexhaustible itinerance, physical and spiritual, was blended with the God-impulse, inextricably, the religion of Francis and his preaching have always a singular and delightful touch of joy. There was no gloom about him, no pressure of misery or hell, no burden of asceticism in the tortured sense. As Renan puts it, admirably, "Note well that Francis forbids us to possess, he does not forbid us to enjoy," and the experience of humanity, even without Francis, has long ago taught us that possession and enjoyment are by no means identical. Francis wanted his followers to find endless joy in their religion, in their God, and in all the delightful things that their God had scattered about them in such abundant profusion. He was even ready to carry joy to the point of a sweet and sacred merriment, and when

Brother Juniper made his careless and trivial jests, Brother Juniper, who is stamped with the magnificent phrase, *egregius Domini joculator*, the egregious jester of God, Francis smiled and sympathized, for, he said, "what are the servants of God but as it were merry-makers who should stir the hearts of men and impel them to spiritual joy?"

So this illimitable roamer and dreamer went on wandering and wondering and loving. With such an inborn tendency, is it not hard to imagine that the wandering should ever stop? Rather one feels that he would go on eternally, traveling, soaring, adventuring, through the vast, unplumbed depths of the spiritual universe, always, always, always touching, enjoying, engrossing—and dominating souls.

## RENOUNCING WAR AND ESTABLISHING PEACE

DAVID Y. THOMAS

ON JULY 4, 1776, thirteen English-American colonies declared their independence, but it took seven years of fighting to establish for themselves a place among the nations of the world. July 24, 1929, it was announced at Washington that forty-four nations had signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing war as a part of national policy. Exactly one year later President Hoover, with impressive ceremonies in the presence of the ambassadors and ministers of forty-five nations gathered in the East Room of the White House, proclaimed this pact in effect. By this time sixty-two had accepted it, or had indicated that they would do so. In all probability it will take more than seven years to make this as significant to these sixty-two nations as July 4, 1776, was to the United States in 1783, but let us hope that some day this significance will be realized.

There are some who speak of the Kellogg-Briand Pact as another "scrap of paper," a meaningless pact that will amount to nothing. A few of the senators who voted to ratify it seemed to regard it in this light. At the opposite extreme are those who fondly dream that, because of the pact, the "battle flags are furled" and that the war drum will throb no longer. It is true that the treaty is to run forever and a day—there is no provision made for termination or even for the withdrawal of any nation after it has once ratified. This renunciation of war has in reality become a part of international law and is binding upon the signatory powers just as much as the abolition of privateering.

But not all wars have been outlawed, for Secretary Kellogg, in sending around the treaty for adhesion, stated that wars of defense were not included in the renunciation. In most modern wars each belligerent has attempted to show that

it was on the defensive. This in itself is a healthful sign. Hereafter diplomats will enter less lightly upon wars, knowing that they will be called upon to prove to their own people and to the world that they were forced into the struggle. When the trouble occurred between Russia and China in July, 1929, the Soviet Foreign Secretary was quoted as having said: "We know our strength and the Chinese weaknesses. But our peaceful pronouncements are not mere words. Our signature to the Kellogg Pact was not merely a diplomatic gesture. . . . No other country ever received such provocation as we have received from the Chinese. But we shall not fight unless our country is invaded. We do not fight because we believe in peace."

To proclaim a law or rule of action is one thing, to secure obedience to it, especially in an untried field, is another. If the words of the Russian Foreign Office are to be taken at face value, then progress is being made. But not all the Reds, to say nothing of the anti-Reds, are opposed to war. If the people of the world now sit down in the assurance that war has already been banished, then those who contend that the Pact of Paris is only another "scrap of paper" will have the better of the argument in the end. "Eternal vigilance" is the price of peace as well as of liberty and we have only made a beginning. We must cultivate a will to peace, a belief in the new law of peace and a desire to see it observed.

If all wars except those of defense have been renounced by all the nations of any consequence and if their word is worth anything at all, then no nation needs the huge military machines kept up in Europe before 1914. Immediately upon proclaiming the Pact of Paris President Hoover logically suspended operations of the larger navy and announced that there was to be another conference on limitation of naval armaments. Also, he announced that efforts would be made to reduce our expenditures on the army. Americans in general sincerely believe that we are a peaceful nation. If this be true, it seems hardly logical that we should be spending more on war now than any other nation in the world and that

our expenditures should be constantly mounting. The excuse is that it is all for preparedness for defense. Military preparedness is a threat, not a gesture of friendship. Preparedness in friendship and good will will never provoke a war. While we are spending millions on military preparedness our government can hardly be said to be spending anything for the direct purpose of cultivating friendship and understanding. No wonder then that President Hoover wants to halt the military preparedness.

The Conference met in London in January, 1931. The spirit of renunciation, which Secretary Hughes had introduced at the Washington Conference, was conspicuous by its absence. We were interested in parity with Great Britain and secured it, though it is difficult to see how it could have been prevented, had there been no conference. Japan accepted a lower place, as she had done in 1922. France and Italy could not agree on their respective places at this time, but finally, after some cutting words had stirred hard feelings, did come to an agreement in March, 1931. Perhaps the chief contribution made by the Washington Conference was the demonstration that armaments can be limited by agreement when the limitation is applied to a single class, capital ships. The London Conference made an advance over this, for it showed that limitation by agreement could be applied to all war crafts, although the limitation was not very serious. Secretary Stimson, one of our delegates to the conference, summed it up very well when he said: "We regard disarmament as a goal to be reached by successive steps, by frequent revision and approval." The net result was greater hopes for still greater things in the coming League Conference on this subject.

But limitation of armaments is not sufficient. Even complete disarmament will not stop wars, for disputes will continue to arise when armies and navies are no more. If there is no way to settle such disputes, men will fight with clubs or their fists. The ink was hardly dry on the treaty they had signed renouncing war before China and Russia were on the

brink of war. Such disputes between individuals used to be "settled" by the big stick; now they are settled in the courts. Such disputes between nations used to be "settled" by war; now we have a court, the Court of International Justice sitting at The Hague, for the use of nations. This Court does not cover all sorts of cases and its jurisdiction is not obligatory, like that of national courts for settling disputes between individuals or between an individual and the state. Membership in this court is voluntary and the United States is not even a member. The most important problem before the people of the United States who are interested in the abolition of war is to get their country to join the World Court. All that is now necessary to do is to convince the Senate that we ought to join.

Three years before this, January 27, 1926, the Senate had agreed to enter with five reservations. The substance of the first four was that the United States should not assume any obligations under the Treaty of Versailles, that it should be allowed to participate in the election of judges and pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court, and that it should have privilege of withdrawing at any time, and that the Statute creating the Court should not be amended without her consent. The fifth deserves to be quoted in full:

That the Court shall not render any advisory opinion except publicly after due notice to all States adhering to the Court and to all interested States and after public hearing or opportunity for hearing given to any State, concerned; nor shall it, without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute in which the United States has or claims an interest.

When these reservations were discussed at Geneva the Council took the position that the fifth reservation was capable of "bearing an interpretation which would hamper the Council and prejudice the rights of the Members of the League" and asked for a conference. In reply Secretary Kellogg said that the reservation was "plain and unequivocal," that he had no authority to modify it, and declined the invitation.

In spite of this the conference was held in September, 1926, with forty nations and dominions represented. A member of the Senate who helped draw up the reservations assured the writer that all the Senate was after was equality. Not being represented on the Council or in the Assembly the Senate felt that the fifth reservation was necessary to insure equality. This is a perfectly natural and patriotic desire and no one can blame the senators for it. But to an outsider it looks like demanding a privileged position, for, while the United States could block an advisory opinion by simply claiming an interest in it, the others could not. The Conference called attention to the fact that, while all requests for an advisory opinion had been unanimous, it never had been settled that unanimity was required. It assumed that all the United States wanted was equality and agreed that we should have the right to block a request for an advisory opinion in any case where a nation represented on the Council or in the Assembly would have such right. Also it agreed that the United States could withdraw at any time, provided that, "to assure equality of treatment, the signatory powers could, under certain conditions, withdraw their assent to the reservations made by the United States." Such were the proposals laid before the government at Washington.

It has been said that silence once reigned in Heaven for the space of an hour. President Coolidge and Secretary Kellogg beat that record, so far as the World Court was concerned, by more than two years. Tremendous pressure was brought to bear on them without results. Who could blame them? The Senate, not they, had made the reservations and who else could tell what they meant? At last the Senate began to realize that a large part of the trouble lay at their own door and in February, 1928, Senator Gillett introduced a resolution "respectfully suggesting" to the President that a further exchange of views was advisable. After it became clear that the Senate probably would adopt the resolution President Coolidge announced that he was ready to break the silence and

Secretary Kellogg addressed a letter to the signatory powers in which he said:

The powers of the Council and its mode of procedure depend upon the covenant of the League of Nations, which may be amended at any time. The ruling of the Court in the Eastern Carelia case and the rules of the Court are also subject to change at any time.

For these reasons he did not think that the proposal would "furnish adequate protection to the United States." In closing he clearly intimated that "the interests of the United States thus attempted to be safeguarded" might "be fully protected in some other way or by some other formula."

Before this letter was written the French legation at the September, 1928, meeting of the League Assembly had proposed a committee to examine the Statute "with a view to the introduction of such amendments as may be judged desirable." This was adopted and at its December session the Council appointed a committee of twelve, including Mr. Elihu Root, who had played a conspicuous part in drawing up the original Statute.

Mr. Root was now eighty-four years old and had retired from public life. To cross the ocean in the dead of winter was for him a serious thing, but he answered the call in the hope of paving the way for the entrance of the United States into the World Court. Before leaving he visited Washington and conferred with the President and some of the leading senators.

When the committee met it took up the proposal made in 1926, worked into it the more significant parts of Mr. Root's proposals with some modifications, and sent the results to the member nations and the United States for approval. In this document, the nations signatory to the protocol, if they ratify it, accept the reservations of the United States "upon the terms set forth in the following articles." The first part of the "following articles" says that the United States will not be involved in any legal relations to the League of Nations or assume any obligations under the Treaty of Versailles, that

she may participate in the election of judges, and that she may pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court. In the fourth reservation the United States had asked that the Statute be not amended without her consent. The new protocol merely says that it shall not be amended "without the consent of all the contracting parties," thus preserving equality.

The fifth reservation is dealt with at some length. Public sessions on advisory opinions are prescribed by Article 4 of the protocol. To guard against any advisory opinion touching any dispute or question in which the United States has or claims an interest being given without the assent of the United States the Secretary General of the League of Nations shall, "through any channel designated for that purpose by the United States," inform that country of any proposal for an advisory opinion and, thereupon, if desired, "an exchange of views" must take place "with all possible speed." Whenever a request for an advisory opinion comes to the Court the Registrar shall notify the United States thereof, stating a reasonable time limit within which a statement of the United States will be received. If for any reason no sufficient opportunity for an exchange of views should have been afforded and the United States advises the Court that the question is one which affects her interest, the proceeding shall be stayed for a period of time sufficient to enable such an exchange of views between the Council or the Assembly and the United States to take place. The objections of the United States will be given the same force and effect that is attached to a vote against asking for an advisory opinion by a member of the League of Nations represented in the Council or in the Assembly. If after the exchange of views "it shall appear that no agreement can be reached and the United States is not prepared to forego its objection," the protocol does not specify whether the Court may still go on and render the advisory opinion, but the context seems to indicate that it may.

Mr. Root, however, is on record to the effect that, "as long as the United States remains an adherent of the Court no opinion could be rendered by the Court against its claim of

interest, although he admits that the Council may request it." Since Mr. Root was there and helped to draw up the protocol one hesitates to differ with him, but the context does not seem to bear out this statement. Our objection is to have "the same force and effect as attaches to a vote" given by any member on requesting an opinion. If an advisory opinion is requested over our objection, then the right of withdrawal "will follow naturally without any imputation of unfriendliness or unwillingness to co-operate generally for peace and good will," while this right does not belong to the other members. But we do not have to withdraw. We can remain and submit gracefully to an adverse decision, or we can retire at will, whether an opinion has been asked or not. It seems highly improbable that the Council will ever ask for an opinion over our objections.

While the other members do not have the right to withdraw singly because an advisory opinion has been requested over their opposition, they have the right to withdraw their acceptance of the special conditions of the adherence of the United States, though the withdrawal of any one does not become effective until two-thirds of the membership takes such action within one year. This still leaves the United States more highly privileged than any other member.

This, in substance, is the Geneva Plan of 1926 as modified in 1929. It has been signed by fifty-three states, including the United States, all to which it is open except Costa Rica and Ethiopia. Thirty-three states, ranging from Albania and Austria to the United Kingdom and Yugoslavia, have ratified. Perhaps the others are waiting to see what our Senate will do. Senator Borah, chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, never committed himself to the Root plan and he has expressed dissatisfaction with the new protocol. The ardent advocates of the protocol must agree with him and all other opponents of all advisory opinions that it does not meet all the demands of the fifth reservation. This says that the Court shall not, "without the consent of the United States, entertain any request for an advisory opinion touching any dispute or

question in which the United States has or claims an interest." The protocol merely promises that the United States shall be notified of every request for an advisory opinion and given a "reasonable time" in which to make known her objections and to back them up with an exchange of views with the Council or the Assembly, during which there shall be a stay of procedure. If our argument is not convincing, apparently, as already stated, the Court may render its opinion, but we can then fall back upon the right to withdraw.

It seems clear to an unbiased mind that, instead of asking to be admitted on terms of equality with every other nation, the senators were seeking equality with all the other members combined. The signatories have agreed to admit us "upon an equality" with themselves individually. That is the meaning of the provision that the objection of the United States shall count the same as that of any member represented on the Council or in the Assembly and of the clause relating to amending the Statute and to a limited extent of the clause relating to withdrawal. Equality is all that any reasonable man can ask. Yet the equality is not absolute and the lack of it is in our favor. The United States had asked for the right to withdraw. That is granted, but the other signatories reserve for themselves the right to withdraw their consent to the special conditions of the adherence of the United States. Yet, while the United States may withdraw at will, it takes two-thirds vote within one year for the signatories to withdraw their assent. The United States must be notified of every request for an advisory opinion and given a chance to be heard, a privilege belonging to no other nation.

Why should we be haunted by fear of an advisory opinion on immigration, a domestic question, or on a subject involving the Monroe Doctrine, a matter of primary importance in our foreign policy? Not every nation has the same kind of interest in immigration that we have, but all have domestic questions and they know that when they take up a domestic question of one nation, it opens the door for taking up another

kind of domestic question which may be of vital concern to them.

As for the Monroe Doctrine, the history of the last ten years shows that the League of Nations has studiously avoided that issue and there is no reason to think that its attitude will be different after we enter the Court from what it was before. Several disputes have arisen between Latin American countries, members of the League, and efforts have been made to get these disputes before the League, but the Council has ignored them, waiting for the United States to act. Under the new Monroe Doctrine we have assumed the duty of seeing that European nations receive a reasonable amount of protection in the western hemisphere. Suppose that a citizen of France should be mistreated in Venezuela and that France should take up the matter with the foreign office at Caracas. Suppose that an advisory opinion should be requested of the Court on it and that the United States should claim an interest in it. After an "exchange of views" the Council might withdraw the request or the Court might go on and render an advisory opinion. In the latter case the Council or the Court must have reached the conclusion that we did not have a sufficient interest in the case to warrant throwing it out. That would in no way be passing on the Monroe Doctrine itself. But if, in the course of her dealings with Venezuela, France should threaten to take possession of some port until satisfaction was rendered and we should protest that this would be a violation of the Monroe Doctrine, it is inconceivable that the Court would say that we had no interest in the case. If they did, then we could fall back upon the right to withdraw and the decision would in no way bind us. But the European nations desire to have us in the Court and they will give every consideration to any reasonable objection we may raise in order to prevent our withdrawal.

What more could reasonable men ask? The Senate is supposed to be made up of reasonable men. Let us hope that they will see the question in this light, ratify the protocol, and give us means of settling disputes sure to arise, whether we disarm or not.

## REID HALL: A RELIC OF OLD PARIS\*

DOROTHY LOUISE MACKAY

REID HALL, the American University Women's Paris Center, a gift of, and a permanent memorial to, the late Mrs. Whitelaw Reid, is one of the few old Paris houses that have been saved for future generations. It is a house with a history, and even a legendary past which includes an underground passage and a ghost—several of them in fact. The beautiful Marie de Rohan is said to have lived there with her second husband, the Duc de Chevreuse. Her intrigues at the Court, ranging from mild but dubious *affaires d'amour* to the scandal of the Queen's intimacy with the dashing Duke of Buckingham, were all supposed to have centered in this charming old house. The building and grounds have atmosphere, and it has therefore never been difficult to persuade credulous visitors of the truth of the legend of Marie de Chevreuse.

The theory that Marie de Rohan lived at 4, *rue de Chevreuse* rests on three very unhistorical but romantic stories. These concern an underground passage reputed to have led to the Luxembourg Palace; a walled-in, arched-over passage on the ground level of the house, supposed to have been part of a private road to the Luxembourg; and finally, the fact that the street on which the house is located bears the name *rue de Chevreuse*. Let us examine each of these.

For years prior to the War, the underground passage had excited the curiosity of people who visited the house. The entrance was close to a well which may once have concealed it. The passage had been closed up under the house, but this was accounted for by excavations for sewers which had been laid in the quarter during the nineteenth century. The passage, to be sure, started in the direction of the Luxembourg, whither Marie de Rohan and her messengers could easily betake themselves, it was imagined, without being detected. One

\* The material for this article was obtained during the author's residence at Reid Hall as European Fellow of the American Association of University Women.

dislikes to investigate underground passages, for they often lead to disappointments, and this one did—to a quarry. The disillusionment occurred only two years ago, when a map was uncovered at the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, showing the lines of the quarries which honeycombed that region in Paris prior to the Revolution. This map marked distinctly a quarry entrance beneath the house which is now Reid Hall. Further search revealed another map, which proved the same point, by showing a series of underground constructions at some distance below the house, built for the purpose of strengthening the walls of the quarry passages and preventing cave-ins. Our underground passage can be none other than the quarry entrance of the map.

The private road story was more easily dealt with. Immediately under the apartment of the *Directrice* of Reid Hall, running from the well in the courtyard across the ground-floor of the house to the property next door, is a walled-in, arched-over passage. This has no opening on the property at no. 4, *rue de Chevreuse*, but it does open into the courtyard of the adjoining house. It is a most inconvenient arrangement for Reid Hall, since it cuts off one part of the ground floor, the French Federation office, from the *Salons* on the other side. Furthermore, the management of the Hall has no jurisdiction over this passage, which it has repeatedly and vainly sought to buy. An ingenious explanation suddenly appeared and gained credence. The rights to the passage could not be bought, it was said, because it was part of an old royal road and not subject to private purchase. The imaginary road, like the supposed underground passage, had led directly to the Luxembourg.

To one familiar with the geography of old Paris, the existence of such a road is incredible. The walled-in passage, however, was immediately explained by a careful study of the old deeds to the Reid Hall property. These deeds include maps marking the location of a well which is still to be found in the court-yard. The well to-day has a bucket and pulley, but there is a partition behind them which completely cuts

the well in half, and only one-half is visible from the courtyard. The deeds show this partition and trace the lines of a passage from the well across the ground floor of the wing to the adjoining property. This is clearly the passage which prevents communication between the two parts of the ground floor of Reid Hall. In the text of the deed, there is a provision that this passage shall be preserved in perpetuity for the use of the occupants of the neighboring house, in order that they may enjoy unrestricted use of the well of which they are part owners. This was once quite a typical way of solving the water supply problem in old Paris. The well no longer contains water. On the Reid Hall side it is filled in and is only a picturesque reminder of former days. Behind the partition it is filled with rubbish, is covered over, and serves as a table in what has now become a store-room. However, this store-room is a permanent part of the contiguous property, and cannot be acquired separately. It has no connection with either royal or public roads.

The name *rue de Chevreuse* is of obscure origin and cannot be taken as proof of the residence of the Chevreuse family in the street. There are two rather generally accepted theories, neither bearing the tests of investigation. One holds that the street was a very old road, mentioned first in 1210 under another name, and leading out beyond the walls to the village of Chevreuse, which was, of course, the feudal estate of the family of that name. A second version states that the street was opened up on an old estate bearing the names of Chevreuse and Rohan-Guéménée, the family names of the Duc and Duchesse of Chevreuse respectively. Despite the fact that both these versions have crept into official documents and otherwise reliable historical guide-books, they are based on erroneous information. In the first case, the road mentioned in 1210 and leading in the direction of the village of Chevreuse is the nearby *Chemin d'Issy*. In the second case, we have no record of lands of the Chevreuse and Rohan-Guéménée family in the vicinity. The street first appears on a map, that of Jaillot, in 1775, but without a name.

It is mentioned in 1787 by Watin as *la rue Chevreuse*, and first uses the form *rue de Chevreuse* in 1791 on the map by Verniquet. Monsieur Dumolin, perhaps the best informed living scholar in the field of Parisian history, says that the street was evidently named in accordance with a custom common at that time: the family name of the proprietor takes an adjective form as in the case of the *rue Vivienne* which got its name from a family Vivien. Monsieur Dumolin thinks that there must have been a proprietor in the street named Chevreux, and that this accounts for the early form *rue Chevreuse* and hence the present one, *rue de Chevreuse*. This may have no connection with the house at no. 4 as the hypothetical Monsieur Chevreux may have lived in any house on the street. In any case Monsieur Dumolin is completely convinced of the impossibility of the name being that of Duchesse, or even of her village beyond the city limits.

History completely disproves the story of the connection with the Luxembourg. Marie de Rohan and her husband, the Duc de Chevreuse, did not live in the Latin Quarter, but occupied the famous Hôtel de Chevreuse in the *rue Saint Thomas du Louvre*, near the present Louvre. Anne of Austria, the center of the intrigues of the Duchesse of Chevreuse, never occupied the Luxembourg, which was the palace of her mother-in-law, Marie de Medici, who hated both the Queen and her confidante, the Duchesse. The schemes of the Duchesse therefore never concerned either the Luxembourg or the present Reid Hall. Furthermore, the latter dates unquestionably from the early eighteenth century. The court with the large cobblestones, the heavy, square, wooden entrance doors, the iron grill in the garden, the open gallery facing it, and the rows of gabled windows all around the house, stamp it with the cachet of this period. Marie de Rohan was born in 1600 and died in 1669. She could never have seen a building of this type.

If the ghosts of a famous family have been forced out of the house by historical fact, this same agency has at least supplied us with substitutes in the neighborhood. In the thirteenth

century the whole Luxembourg region had acquired a strange reputation which clung to it for centuries. Ghosts were said to walk there, and one of the streets gloried in the name of the *rue d'Enfer*. The pious Louis IX owned a palace in the southern part of what is now the Luxembourg Gardens, but its bad reputation so troubled the saintly king that he gave it to the Chartreux monks in the hope that they would evict the evil spirits. It was they who first started the fashion for excavations in the neighborhood. They carved out cells below the ground and eventually developed the underground quarries which were a conspicuous feature of the region as late as the French Revolution.

If the spirits fled, the reputation, at least, remained, despite a consistent religious influence. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the land around the present Reid Hall was part of the feudal domain of the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Près. Nevertheless the section between Notre-Dame-des-Champs and Montparnasse had the blood-thirsty appellation of "Coupe-Gorge," and was spoken of as a "little frequented place which it was not prudent to risk visiting at night." Maps of that period show fields and trees, with few houses, but one of them, the map of Rochefort, 1675 (?), is quite vivid. The Butte of Montparnasse, at the present intersection of Montparnasse and Raspail, is clearly depicted. Around it no less than three duels are in progress, and dangerous looking characters walk about conspicuously displaying deadly arms.

By 1775 the region showed signs of more respectable occupancy. A wall had been built along the present Boulevard Montparnasse during the reign of Louise XIV, and the land between it and the Luxembourg gradually filled with houses. The house at 4, *rue de Chevreuse* is one of the oldest. The map of Jaillot shows a house on the western side of the *rue de Chevreuse* which is without doubt the present Reid Hall. The deeds prove an even more remote origin, for the house changed hands as the result of a lawsuit in 1767, and again in 1795. In both cases those involved were obscure per-

sons of no historical importance. In fact, we know nothing definite about the use of the house prior to 1834, although we are informed by a relative of the man who purchased it at that time that it had previously been a sort of private hospital.

One of the interesting developments in the neighborhood was the famous amusement park, the *Jardin de la Grande Chaumière* which occupied the land on the other side of the Boulevard Montparnasse, opposite the *rue de Chevreuse*. These public gardens were just acquiring popularity in Paris. The special attraction was the elaborate roller coaster which was known in this case as the *Montagnes Russes*. As the fashion for such parks grew, the mountains took on other nationalities and became Scottish, Swiss, etc. The *Montagnes Russes* of the *Jardin de la Grande Chaumière* remained an institution of the park throughout its existence (1789-1860). Another attraction, the *Bal de la Grande Chaumière* was also very popular. The park survives now only in the name that has been adopted by a restaurant which now occupies one end of its site.

The religious tradition of the *quartier* did not end when Marie de Medici, in order to build her gardens, drove out the Chartreux monks as they had driven out the ghosts. Nor did it disappear with the fall of feudalism when the rich abbots of Saint-Germain-des-Près could no longer collect dues from the inhabitants of the *rue de Chevreuse*. Both the good fathers of the Chartreux monastery and the learned Benedictines at Saint-Germain-des-Près may have besought the ghosts to walk again when they watched from the other world, the house at 4, *rue de Chevreuse* in the nineteenth century. About 1830, there started in Switzerland, and rapidly spread to France a movement known as the "Reveil" of French Protestantism. Under the Restoration, Protestants had suffered much and had diminished in numbers. Two parties were developing, a liberal group tending toward conciliation with other Protestant churches, and a conservative, orthodox, intensely Calvinistic party under the leadership of Adolphe

Monod. Education had for years been controlled by the Catholic Church and it still remained a monopoly in their hands. In 1834, however, the first Protestant school in France was founded at 4, *rue de Chevreuse*, by Valdemar Monod and J. J. Keller, the latter being a Swiss schoolmaster, who for some years had been in charge of the elementary department of a school at Fontenay-aux-Roses. Monsieur Keller took over complete direction in 1836 and the school continued as the *Institution Keller* until 1893. In 1884 Monsieur Keller received the Cross of *Chevalier* of the Legion of Honor in recognition of his fifty years of distinguished service to French education. On that occasion he made a speech to a gathering of alumni, in which he told of his early difficulties. He reminded them that there had been in France no precedent for Christian education as the Protestants understood it; that he had gained some ideas from the Moravian brothers of Germany, but that his ambition had been to imitate the "school of Christian gentlemen" of Dr. Arnold at Rugby.

At first the students both lived and worked in the school. Instruction included the conventional program of the day with emphasis on the classics and modern languages. The school specialized in German courses, due possibly to the German-Swiss tendencies of the founders. The boys seem to have complained, however, of the preponderance of the classics. One of them writes:

"On negligeait un peu l'exact et le pratique  
Pour toute nourriture avoir du sel attique  
Cela ne suffit point, j'en demeure d'accord."

In the minds of the founders, however, religious instruction was of the highest importance. Monsieur Keller, in speaking of the early years in the school, said, "Our ideal, which we perhaps followed with more zeal than wisdom, was the *evangelization* of our pupils." With this in view, an almoner was a regular member of the faculty, and there were daily Bible lessons and evening sermons. The usual Calvinistic insistence on strict discipline and instant obedience as an educa-

tional process is everywhere evident. In fact, the school early became famous as the alma mater of a surprisingly large number of Calvinist *pasteurs*. The author of the lines quoted above is impressed by this fact when he considers the influence of the school on its alumni:

" . . . surtout pasteurs,  
Jadis l'on sermonna si fort nos bons apôtres  
Que, pour se rattraper, ils sermonnent les autres."

During its fifty-nine years of existence, the school had on its rolls the names of many boys who later became famous, but strangely enough this fact was never capitalized. There is only one list in existence, that made in 1884 of students from 1834 to 1884, and there are no biographical sketches. Frequently even the names are only partially listed, with such vague information as "Etats-Unis" added as to residence. It has been possible, through other biographies, to trace the careers of a few. None, it may be said, mentioned the Institution Keller as a preparatory school, a striking contrast to English and American custom in this respect, and a further evidence of the fact that the fame of the school was never fully realized during its lifetime.

The most distinguished alumnus was William Henry Waddington, born in 1826 of an English family, long resident in France and naturalized in 1816. Waddington was one of the most brilliant statesmen of the nineteenth century. He served his country as ambassador both in Russia and England, was president of the French Council of Ministers, and represented France at the Congress of Berlin. He was the fourth student to register at the Pension Keller in 1834, where he remained until 1840. Three other members of the Waddington family attended the school, including William's brother Richard, who later became a judge in the Tribunal of Commerce of Rouen, the family home. Two of their relatives, Charles and Evelyn, were registered from the East Indies in 1836-1839. Charles Waddington later attained fame as a professor of philosophy at the Sorbonne. The Waddington

family was considered one of the leading Protestant families of France in the nineteenth century.

Probably the best known of the great families who played a part in the history of French Protestantism were the Monods. Between 1834 and 1874, there were ten Monod boys in the school. Family tradition led many of them to the ministry and to university careers. Jean Monod, who later held the chair of Protestant Theology at Montauban, was the first student to register at the Institution Keller. The second pupil was Edmond de Pressensé, later a great Protestant and a leader in the French Senate. Albert Kaempfen, who was at the school from 1835 to 1838, became director of the Ecole Nationale des Beaux Arts. A contemporary of Kaempfen, Cornélis de Witt was interested in America and wrote much in French about George Washington and Thomas Jefferson.

The Pension Keller was well known in foreign countries, for there were boys on the rolls from Australia, Tahiti, China, East and West Indies and many from England, Switzerland, Germany, and the United States. In the last case, the school seems to have been much advertised by certain families and in certain communities. For example, between 1866 and 1870 we find a number of boys from Cincinnati, especially several who belonged to the Pendleton family.

The first American on the list is Robert Baird, 1835-1836. His father, the Reverend Robert Baird, was prominent in the American Sunday School Union. His mother came of an old Huguenot family. In 1835 the family went abroad on an eight-year mission "to promote Protestantism in southern Europe and temperance reform in northern Europe." Meantime, the son, Robert, attended the Pension Keller. Charles King, son of a former president of Columbia College, and a descendant of Rufus King, was in the school from 1865 to 1868 while the family was traveling in Europe. It is interesting to note that a relative, Miss Mary King, became the second wife of the statesman Waddington, and herself played an important rôle in European diplomatic circles for many

years. The school list also contains the names of Louis Tiffany, 1851-1852, George W. Vanderbilt, 1851-1853, Thomas Biddle, 1867-1868, and Arthur Brisbane, 1880-1881. Mr. Brisbane writes that he lived at the school and went out daily to classes at the *Ecole Alsacienne*. He says, "I was very fond of old Mr. Keller, whose ideas of America were strange, but whose kindness was very great."

In 1893, the school closed, for the state schools were becoming sufficiently popular to make the maintenance of private institutions a financial problem. The property was leased to Mrs. Whitelaw Reid who used it to house a girls' club conducted by the American Episcopal Church of the Holy Trinity, now the Cathedral of the same name. For years it was a center of student life, especially for girls working in art or music. During the war it was taken over by the Red Cross, which used it first as a hospital, and finally, until 1922, as Paris Red Cross headquarters.

In 1920, Mrs. Reid bought the house from the heirs of Monsieur Keller and turned it over to the American Association of University Women. It opened in 1922 on the occasion of the Paris meeting of the International Federation of University Women. Since then it has been a home for American and foreign university women studying in Paris, a club for those visiting there, and a continental headquarters for the International Federation.

In 1929 the house was entirely renovated and many modern improvements introduced. Without losing its old charm, the interior was made more comfortable and more attractive. Just before the renovation took place, the son of Monsieur J. J. Keller visited the house and spoke of his memories with much affectionate emotion. He regretted that his mother was unable to accompany him, for she had come to the house as a bride in 1869, and would have enjoyed seeing it again. She had recently coöperated with him in supplying much of the information concerning the history of the school used by the present writer. Monsieur Keller recalled that there had been few changes in the aspect of the house since his boyhood

days. The well, he said, had been filled up ever since he could remember, and he had never investigated the passage on the other side. He pointed out the present office of the French Federation as the study of the masters in the Pension Keller. He examined carefully the old stone trough across the court. Its original purpose was as obscure then as it is now, but the schoolboys had used it for scrubbing ink off their hands, since its rough surface had proven a good substitute for pumice stone. The bell above the trough reminded him vividly of the daily routine of the school. He pointed out the old dining-room, behind the present *loge*, and the big study-hall across from it on the other side of the entrance. The Keller family had had rooms across the front, opening off the balcony.

Monsieur Keller had come to take a last farewell of his boyhood home. Fortunately he may return now and find all the familiar landmarks. The court looks just as it did fifty years ago. The garden is still there, one of the few surviving green spots of old Paris. The Boulevard Montparnasse is only a few feet away with its noisy traffic, its buses, and trams. Cross the threshold, push back the un-modern looking doors, and step back two hundred years into a Paris of quiet and charm,—with modern plumbing.

## THE TALL TALE IN TEXAS

MODY C. BOATRIGHT

THE pioneers who came to Texas to found there a cattle industry that eventually extended from the Rio Grande to the Big Bow, brought with them from the older Southwest a large body of floating literature of the tall-tale variety. This folk material must have exerted a tremendous influence upon a group of Southern humorists who had brought the tall tale to the verge of literature before Mark Twain ventured into the field.

The literary use of the tall tale was checked by the Civil War, but after that struggle it found a congenial home and flourished orally in the cow-camps of the new Southwest. Among cattlemen books and periodicals were scarce; and while the gifted story-teller might now and then be disparagingly referred to as a "windy," he was welcome about the campfire, and any large outfit was likely to have one or more among its numbers.

Old tales that were applicable to the new conditions survived; others were adapted to the new environment; Crèvecoeur and Münchhausen supplied others, some of the narratives of the latter especially being adapted to the new Southwest with admirable ingenuity. Still other tales grew directly out of the soil.

The advent of the greenhorn, whether tourist or tenderfoot, did much to stimulate the development of the tall tale in the cattle country. While it is true that the cowboy deserved his reputation for reticence, it is also true that when conditions were favorable to the exercise of his art, he was an inveterate liar who liked horseplay and took intense delight in "loading" the greenhorn. This pastime, which usually occupied the hours of the evening after supper, consisted in telling for the benefit of the uninitiated a species of yarn locally known as "windy." If the auditor appeared credulous,

the narrators went on vying with each other, heaping exaggeration upon exaggeration, consciously burlesquing the misconceptions which the newcomer had brought with him from the East. Sometimes the listener was informed by a yell at the end of the story that he had been taken in; more often he was made aware of that fact by the sheer heights of exaggeration to which the narrative ascended; occasionally he accepted the story in good faith and went away neither sadder nor wiser.

The result was a literature at once imaginative, robust, and humorous: one in striking contrast to the usually pensive and melancholy ballads, which taken in themselves present a one-sided picture of the cowboy's character.

Since much of the cowboy's romancing was done to inspire fear in the newcomer, the fauna of the Southwest, really comparatively harmless, was represented as dangerous in the extreme. And among the living things none was better adapted to the cowboy's purpose than the rattlesnake. As a matter of fact, there were few fatalities from snake-bite among cowmen. The rattlesnake sometimes though rarely strikes without warning. He presented no danger to mounted men; and when dismounted, the cowboy was afforded good protection by his boots. Yet because of his terrifying aspect, his blood-curdling rattle, and the reputation he had acquired in the East, the rattlesnake was an especial source of terror to the greenhorn; and he was the subject of many a harrowing tale told around the campfire, frequently as a prelude to some practical joke.

Perhaps some cowpuncher would open with Crèvecoeur's classic of the fang in the boot. According to the Southwest version of this well known tale, a cowboy in the act of dismounting was seized by the heel by a monstrous rattlesnake, which he immediately killed. Removing his boot, he examined his heel and found that the fang had not reached the skin. He then without apprehension went on his way. Some week or ten days later his heel began to swell and in a few

hours he died. It was assumed that some local infection had caused blood-poisoning. In keeping with cowboy custom, just before he died, the victim called his friends about him and doled out his meagre possessions. To one he gave his pistol, to another his saddle, to another his horse, and to another his boots. The recipient of the boots wore them for a few days, and his heel likewise became infected, and he died, passing the boots on to a comrade. The third wearer of the boots died in the same manner. But the fourth heir became suspicious and made a cautious examination of his inheritance. Imbedded in the spur-piece of the right boot he found the fang of the rattlesnake. He removed the fang with a pair of pliers and wore the boots for a number of years.

A recent variant of this story substitutes an automobile tire for the boots. A driver runs over a rattlesnake on the highway. The garageman who repairs the puncture subsequently dies of an infected hand. The number of tire-changers thus taken off is determined by the fancy of the narrator and by his estimate of the credulity of the auditor.

After a few yarns of this sort had been spun, the most audacious liar in the group would come forward with the tragic death of Peg-Leg Ike.

Ike was a fine cowpuncher even if he did have a wooden leg. It was a shame that such a good man had to be killed by a low-down reptile. One day Ike got off his horse to repair a fence and immediately a big black diamond rattler nabbed him by the peg leg. Ike seized the snake by the tail, and with a dextrous twist of the wrist popped off his head. He then went his way, thinking how fortunate he was to be bitten on the right leg instead of the left leg.

When he reached an outlying bunkhouse where two of his fellow-punchers were awaiting him, he found that he could not remove his artificial limb from the iron, cup-like stirrup which the local blacksmith had made to fit his peg. He called for help, and his comrades brought a cold-chisel and cut away the stirrup. By the time this was done, the leg was

as big as a steer. The two friends with great difficulty carried him into the shack; and one taking the fencing hatchet and the other the chopping axe, they began operating on the leg to reduce it to its proper size. They worked three days and nights, pausing only to carry out the chips and splinters. At the end of that time they were completely exhausted and had to see poor Ike die.

If it is protested that the bite on a wooden leg should not have killed the man, the reply is that the leg got so big that it just naturally smothered poor Ike to death.

The only redeeming feature of the pathetic experience was that the survivors had kindling wood enough to last all winter.

Certain Southwestern insects had reputations rivaling that of the rattlesnake. The centipede, according to tradition, carried in each of his hundred hook-like feet a poison so deadly that if he ever crawled on human flesh, putrefaction set in and the victim became violently insane. To reinforce his claims as to the terribly poisonous nature of the centipede, the cowboy often told this story.

At chuck time two cowboys were seated on the ground facing each other eating their beans. One noticed a centipede, on the other's bandanna, just in the act of crawling on the unsuspecting man's neck. He knew that to warn his friend would be fatal, for they had removed their gloves, and for either to try to brush the insect away would only anger it and make certain a terrible death from its sting. With great presence of mind he whipped out his six-shooter and shot the centipede away, the bullet taking just a thread or two of the bandanna.

Of course the marksman did not have time to consider what was beyond. He noticed a steer some fifty yards away jump as though he had been hit. The animal was roped and examined, and it was found that the bullet had passed through the dew-lap, a cartilaginous tissue depending from the neck at its junction with the shoulders. A less vital spot could not have been found. In a few minutes, however, the steer's

neck was swollen, and he was raving so madly that he had to be shot.

If the existing fauna could not be made impressive enough, imaginary animals could be drafted into service. These mythological creatures were numerous and not completely standardized either in terminology or anatomy. Some were harmless, and the point of the story was to "sell" the green-horn. Others were extremely ferocious, and the tenderfoot was advised to give them the whole road and was offered minute instruction in the technique of escaping when pursued. Like all mythological animals, they were compounded of the parts of well known species.

The gwinter, known also as goadaphro, side-swiper, and stem-winder, frequented the hilly districts. He had the chassis of a giant mountain sheep or goat with some of the accessories of the grizzly bear and the mountain lion. His most noteworthy characteristic was the result of a happy adaptation to a mountainous habitat. As it was his custom to graze around the mountain, his legs on the down-hill side had grown long and those on the up-hill side had grown short. The members of this tribe had formerly been very numerous, but a long warfare between the clockwise species and the anti-clockwise species had depleted their ranks.

A few, however, survived, and it was best to be on the lookout and to keep your wits about you. If you saw a gwinter coming toward you, you were not by any means to obey your natural impulse and run from him. You were to stand still and look him straight in the eye as though you were not afraid until he got within a few feet of you. Then you were to take three rapid paces down the hillside. The gwinter would try to turn to follow you, and in so doing he would get his short legs on the down-hill side and go crashing down the mountain to break his neck below.

Various unsuccessful efforts had been made to capture a gwinter alive. No sort of steel-trap would hold one. Once some audacious cowboys had organized a drive and pursued one around and around the mountain, the gwinter gradually

ascending as he circled and recircled the conical elevation. As he neared the top, the cowpunchers felt sure of success. But when the critter could go no higher, he darted right through himself, turning himself wrong side out like Münchhausen's wolf, and descended as he had come up.

The greenhorn's contribution to cowboy fiction was not limited to his furnishing an audience. His misconceptions and his conduct arising therefrom were frequent themes of western windies.

During the first period of the sheep-raising industry in Texas, an athlete having graduated from an Eastern college, came to the Southwest to make his fortune. His plan was to become for a time a cowboy and eventually a cattle king, but he made the mistake of purchasing while yet in Boston a cowboy outfit from a nationally known mail-order concern. He applied to foreman after foreman, but his hat and his chaps and his boots and his spurs were such incentives to merriment that no cowman could refrain from laughter long enough to give him an answer. Finally he was reduced to the indignity of hiring himself to a sheep man.

He was further chagrined on the morning he was placed in charge of the herd to find that he was to walk. But he remembered the good advice he had received from his professors as well as from his father (who as an industrialist had worked his way up from the bottom) that success depended on doing well the thing at hand no matter how menial; and he swallowed his pride and determined to do his best. So he led his "borregas" forth with the instructions to keep them safe from the coyotes and to bring them to the ranch at dusk and pen them. The owner was profanely emphatic about the necessity of looking after the lambs and seeing that they were all safely penned at nightfall.

The owner then went back to his shack to spend the day in leisure, congratulating himself upon having reached an opulence that enabled him to sit in the shade while a hireling did his work. At dark the herder had not returned with the sheep, and the owner became uneasy. He was not a man of great en-

ergy, however, and gave the herder another hour. When it was well past dark and the herder was still at large, the owner started to the sheep pens, some quarter of a mile from the house. When he had gone only a short distance, he met his man.

"Did you have any trouble with the sheep?" asked the owner.

"No, not with the sheep," replied the man from the East, "but the lambs occasioned me considerable annoyance and perturbation."

Not knowing exactly what the herder meant, and ashamed to admit himself less learned than his employee, the owner went to the pens to see what was the matter with the lambs. Looking over the stone fence, he saw the sheep huddled in the middle of the enclosure, and around the edge he counted a hundred and twenty-three jack-rabbits butting their heads against the stones in frantic efforts to escape.

This herder gradually learned his trade and adjusted himself to the ways of the land to the extent of becoming an excellent marksman. A friend of his in Boston had heard of prairie-dogs and wrote the herder to secure for him a mounted specimen. The herder had no difficulty in shooting as many as he desired, but even though he plugged them right in the eye, the little animals would always dart into their holes and disappear. Once he shot one clean in two, but the front end grabbed the rear end and was out of sight in an instant.

He consulted his employer, who advised him that his only hope lay in taking careful aim, shooting the animal in the head, and in running forward upon the very instant of pulling the trigger and seizing the prairie-dog before he had time to disappear into his hole.

Acting upon this advice, one day he took his best aim at the prairie-dog's eye, pulled the trigger, and sprinted forward with all the speed he had. He bent down to seize his game, and just as he touched the fur, the bullet struck him in the back just below the shoulder blade. His employer some hours later found him so badly wounded that he had to shoot him.

Another type of tall tale involved narrow and ingenious escapes.

In the central part of West Texas there is a village called Buffalo Gap, so named from the fact that a pass in the hills there was at one time a gateway through which thousands of buffalo passed annually.

A cowboy once reined his horse at the top of the hill to witness the passing of a great herd. The horse became frightened, reared, and tumbled with the rider still on his back down the hillside. He landed feet first on the backs of the closely-packed animals. The herd quickened its pace into a stampede, and the rider realized that he was being carried north. He turned his horse's head to the south and touched his sides with the spurs. The animal responded and was soon making his best speed. The man rode thus for ten hours, keeping his eye strained for the rear of the herd. Happening to glance to the side, he noticed the broken bushes and the misplaced stones marking the path down which he and his mount had tumbled.

Eventually, when his horse was about to drop from exhaustion, an opening showed up and he escaped just in time; for he had not more than regained the hill when he saw the main herd coming into view.

Another escape demanded greater resourcefulness.

What happened to old Pinto the narrator of this story was unable to say. Perhaps he suddenly became blind; perhaps he brooded over the evils of a cowhorse's life until a morbid, suicidal impulse took possession of him. At any rate he had never acted like that before.

As the rider was traversing a broad flat one dark night, he suddenly found himself falling headlong through space. It instantly occurred to him that he had been riding in the vicinity of a deep sink-hole, or vertical cave, and before he reached the bottom he realized that his horse had fallen into it.

The animal broke his neck in landing, and the rider, even after day came, was unable to scale the fifty-foot, perpendicular walls and gain the terrain above. No help came during

the day, nor the following day, nor yet on the third day. The unfortunate man had by this time reconciled himself to his apparently inevitable death and was eager for it to come. For decomposition of the horse had set in, and his suffering was intense. Every breath was drawn in misery. The man examined his six-shooter and more than once placed the muzzle against his temple, but the natural desire to live each time deterred him from pulling the trigger.

Buzzards had been attracted and were now soaring over the mouth of the hole. Some of them flew down within a few feet of the unhappy cowboy. Upon a sudden inspiration he took his lariat from his saddle and began to unravel it into its smaller strands. At the end of each strand he tied a noose and awaited carefully his opportunity. Presently he succeeded in lassoing a buzzard and tethering it to his belt. When he had so roped and tied twenty or more of the vultures, he fired his six-shooter, frightening them all simultaneously. They lifted him straight out of the cave and carried him away. He watched carefully the lay of the land, and when he found himself directly over a haystack near the headquarters of his own outfit, he unbuckled his belt and allowed himself to drop on the straw. He walked to the ranch-house a hundred or so yards away, and after a good square meal felt the return of his old vigor. To this day, however, he regrets the loss of his belt, an unusually fine one trimmed in rattlesnake hide and studded with silver. He purchased it in Dodge City at a cost of eighteen dollars and fifty cents when he went up the trail in '83.

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PAN-AMERICAN MOVEMENT

J. FRED RIPPY

THE recent observation of Pan-American Day (April 14, 1931) probably represents the most important step ever taken toward the popularization of the Pan-American movement. Such a step should have been taken long ago, for under the republican forms which prevail in the New World, public opinion is too important a factor to be ignored in dealing with international relations. It may not be asserted positively that a thorough knowledge of one another will be a sure guaranty of warm friendship and cordial coöperation between the peoples of the twenty-one republics of America, but it may safely be stated that friendship and mutual assistance never thrive on ignorance.

The average Latin American has inaccurate and inadequate conceptions of the character, achievements, and ideals of the people of the United States; the average citizen of the United States has very meager and distorted notions regarding the Latin Americans; and the great masses of the two Americas know almost nothing of the Pan-American movement. Yet the commercial ties between the United States and the twenty nations of Latin America amount to two billion dollars annually; the ties of investment of capital are represented by not less than six billion dollars; the Latin Americans have an opportunity to study the technological prodigy of the ages; the people of the United States may observe in Latin America one of the most stupendous racial and cultural laboratories the world has ever known; and the international movement in America, of which the Pan American movement is a part, was until recently the most significant movement of its kind in history.

A surprise awaits the student who seriously directs his attention toward this international movement in the New World.

He will probably begin with the notion that there have been only a few inter-American congresses and conferences and that nearly all of these have assembled since 1889. But if he pursues the movement diligently, he will discover that it began in 1826 and that at least one hundred and three official conferences and congresses have assembled since that date. In point of numbers, the international congresses which came together in Europe from the Congress of Vienna (1815) until Woodrow Wilson convoked the first assembly of the League of Nations at Geneva pale into relative insignificance!

In a century characterized by intense international rivalry and the rule of force, the policy of the comparatively weak and frequently turbulent young states of America toward the European Powers was naturally a defensive one. In the case of the United States, the Monroe Doctrine was the most significant expression of this policy. Although the nations of Latin America have not proclaimed such a doctrine, they have been greatly interested in its application and have sometimes accepted with gratitude the aid of the United States against Europe. They have not, however, looked upon the Monroe Doctrine as an ample guaranty of their territorial integrity and national independence. And they have had two very good reasons for their attitude, for the doctrine contains no guaranty of security against the United States, and the Latin Americans have lacked the assurance that the United States would always be able and willing to shield them from European aggression.

It was because of a desire for security, harmony, international coöperation, and progress that the states of America became interested in the international movement and led the world in the practice of multilateral diplomacy. The movement was initiated and sponsored for the first six decades by Spanish America. Since 1889, however, the United States has played the leading rôle, although almost thirty congresses have assembled under Latin-American leadership since that time.

Under Spanish-American leadership, however, little was

accomplished. Some forty congresses and conferences were convoked, but never more than nine states were represented in any of the twelve which assembled before 1890, and sometimes not more than three had delegates present. Indeed, several calls were issued without assemblies actually convening and, what is more important, few of the early agreements and recommendations were ever ratified by the nations concerned.

So far as Latin America is concerned, the most important motive back of the movement was political, as already intimated. Three of the congresses were concerned with science, three dealt with sanitation, three commemorated the services of Simón Bolívar, three considered railways, and one dealt with pedagogy, but four were concerned with international law—and were mainly political—and at least fourteen were purely political.

The United States was seldom invited to attend any of the assemblies of the earlier period. In several instances fear of the United States was partially or wholly responsible for their convocation. When the United States was invited, it was usually with the view of obtaining its support in defensive measures against Europe.

After the authorities at Washington became interested in the movement, attendance improved and no calls were issued which did not result in assemblies. But this was not due entirely to the influence of the United States; it was in part the result of increased stability and progress and a growing interest in multilateral diplomacy in Latin America.

Of the some sixty-three assemblies conveyed mainly under the auspices of the United States, all but six—the series of so-called "International Conferences of American States"—have been specific rather than general. For instance, nine have dealt with sanitation, three with scientific matters, five with child welfare, three with international law, three with commerce, three with Central American affairs, two each with finance, highways, standardization, the Red Cross, postal communications, education, and journalism, and one each with

electrical communications, aviation, trade marks, customs, and eugenics and homoculture. The six conferences whose programs were of a general nature were concerned mainly with economic matters, although considerable attention was given to arbitration, conciliation, and international law, and social and cultural topics were not neglected.

In general, the United States has not been kindly disposed toward the discussion of political topics in these assemblies.<sup>1</sup> The inclusion of such topics in the program has been avoided when possible, but whether they have been on the program or not, Latin Americans have insisted on discussing them. They have continued to demand guaranties of security against both the United States and non-American powers.

The motives prompting the political leaders of the United States to participate in the Pan-American movement, as suggested by the nature of the programs,<sup>2</sup> were, and are, mainly economic—trade and investment opportunities. These leaders have entered into the consideration of sanitation with some enthusiasm, but this problem is closely connected with commerce, investments, and the prosperity of the Panama Canal. Their willingness to discuss conciliation and arbitration has been due apparently to the desire to limit the action of Europe with reference to the collection of claims and the mediation or arbitration of American disputes. It would appear that other topics have been admitted largely with the view of pleasing the Latin Americans and diverting their attention from certain unpleasant matters connected with the vigorous and often domineering rôle of the United States in the New World. Moreover, the conferences have furnished Yankee diplomats an opportunity for reassuring propaganda regarding the benign purposes of their government, and during this rather critical period in world politics it probably seemed wise so promote American solidarity as a support for the political institutions of the New World as well as for

<sup>1</sup> President Wilson was an exception.

<sup>2</sup> Through its domination of the Pan-American Union, the United States has exercised a controlling influence in preparing the programs.

the views of the United States regarding the rights of neutrals and as expressed in the Monroe Doctrine. Indeed, Yankee diplomats might have participated more fully in the discussion of political matters had it not been for their desire to avoid limiting their nation's freedom of action and the knowledge that their views upon such topics as the application of the Monroe Doctrine, intervention, recognition, and the protection of the life and property of aliens differed widely from those of the Latin Americans, and hence would promote unpleasant if not embarrassing discussions.

What have been the achievements of multilateral diplomacy in the New World? It has already been remarked that the international movement in America is, or was until the establishment of the League of Nations, the most significant movement of its kind in history. But this does not necessarily mean that it is tremendously significant. The progress of internationalism has been very slow.

It has been pointed out in a previous paragraph that prior to 1889, when the United States became intensely interested in the movement, little or nothing had been accomplished. Nor can achievements since that date be measured with any degree of accuracy. The American states have not confined their diplomatic efforts to congresses and conferences. They have employed bilateral as well as multilateral diplomacy. And it must further be noted that their relations have not been determined solely or in major part by diplomacy. Conditions in Europe, the World War and its aftermath, and many American factors of a non-diplomatic nature have been operating.

Measured by the number of conventions and treaties drawn up and ratified, the achievements of Pan-Americanism are not impressive. A total of only forty-four of these agreements has been signed since 1902. Not one of them has been ratified by more than eighteen of the twenty-one states. Some of them were ratified by only two or three states, and the average for the entire list is only nine.

Some of the nations have been more active than others,

however. Guatemala leads with thirty-two ratifications, followed by the United States and Panama with twenty-seven each, Nicaragua with twenty-six, Costa Rica and Brazil with twenty-five each, and six other states with more than twenty each. Argentina and Venezuela have lagged behind, each having only five ratifications to its credit. All the rest fall between Bolivia and Chile, which have ten and nineteen respectively.

And yet, despite this unimpressive record, it cannot be truthfully asserted that there has not been a considerable measure of harmony and coöperation in America. In a century there have occurred only six or seven wars between the independent states of the New World, and only three of these were of any magnitude. In seeking the explanation for this pacific record the ideal of peace nurtured by Pan-Americanism cannot be entirely ignored, although adequate machinery for dealing with the international problems of America is still lacking. The relations of the republics of the New World have become more numerous and intimate in recent years. An enormous inter-American trade has been built up, especially between the United States and its neighbors to the south; billions of dollars have flowed from the United States into needy fields in Latin America; financial experts from the United States have given the governments of fourteen Latin-American states helpful advice; and Yankee engineers, physicians, educators, and specialists of every type have found profitable employment in these undeveloped nations. The Pan-American movement has doubtless played some part in this development; and it is certain that these numerous conferences and congresses have enabled the leaders of Pan-America to secure more accurate conceptions of each other's needs, character, anxieties, and policies. Of considerable importance, also, is the more or less permanent international machinery which has been set up: the Pan-American Union, the Inter-American High Commission, the Pan-American Bureau of Sanitation, the Bibliographical Commission, the Aviation Commission, and the Pan-American Institute of Geography and History.

There is one respect in which the movement has been disappointing to Latin America. Its leaders have not obtained from the United States the pledges of security which they have desired. No general arbitration treaty,<sup>3</sup> no pact of self-restraint, no definition of the Monroe Doctrine has been granted them. In the various assemblies Yankee diplomats have done little more than state their views; they have made few concessions. The Latin Americans are still largely at the mercy of our preponderant wealth and power, still virtually unprotected save by public opinion in the United States.<sup>4</sup>

And this is one of the difficulties which has confronted the Pan-American movement. The motives of the two Americas in supporting it are obviously in decided contrast. In the main, the Hispanic Americans have sought security—security against the United States as well as Europe, territorial security, security against the employment of force in the collection of damage claims and public debts and against foreign dictation or domination of any sort. The United States, on the other hand, has been seeking expansion—expansion of its trade, its investments, and its political influence. If it has sought security, it has been the security of its expanded and expanding interests. If it has promoted peace in Latin America, it has been not so much a defensive peace as a peace which would render the field of its economic operations more profitable. In brief, Latin Americans have employed the new diplomacy largely for political purposes and the United States has used it mainly for economic ends.

If there is one thing which the records of these numerous inter-American assemblies have emphasized more than another, it is the uneasiness and distrust constantly evinced by the Latin Americans with reference to the United States. Some of our statesmen have observed their attitude and made reassuring utterances.

Elihu Root, then secretary of state, attended the opening

<sup>3</sup>The United States has not ratified the Arbitration Treaty of 1929.

<sup>4</sup>The Kellogg Pact does not apply to a *defensive* war, nor is the United States likely to classify as war its interventions in Latin America.

session of the general conference at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 and said: "We wish for no victories but those of peace; for no territory except our own; for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and the equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire. . . ."

Woodrow Wilson, whose Latin-American policy was one of the outstanding features of his first administration, went before the Pan-American Scientific Congress at Washington and declared: "The Monroe Doctrine . . . was a hand held up in warning, but there was no promise in it of what America was going to do with the implied and partial protectorate which she apparently was trying to set up on this side of the water. . . . The States of America have not been certain what the United States would do with her power. That doubt must be removed. . . ."

Other statesmen have since issued similar conciliatory statements. Hughes repeatedly made reassuring utterances both in this country and at Havana. Certain things were said during the recent celebration of Pan-American Day which revealed what was known to be in the atmosphere. President Hoover remarked: "We are not attempting to . . . interfere with the freedom of action of any of the states, members of the Union, but rather to develop an atmosphere of good will—a spirit of coöperation and mutual understanding—in which any difference that may arise, no matter how important, will find a ready solution." Secretary Stimson declared: "Without the slightest attempt at compulsion—in an atmosphere of mutual respect and confidence—we are endeavoring to place the experience of each at the service of all, thus promoting the well-being of our respective peoples." And the Ambassador of Mexico spoke of certain moral values which it was our duty to preserve in the New World: "The dignity and liberty of nations, the dignity and freedom of men, human self-respect and an equal opportunity for all."

It is gratifying to note that the statesmen of the United

States are becoming more and more conscious of the attitude of Latin America. They are also becoming increasingly aware of the truth of Wilson's statement that, "If nations are politically suspicious of one another, all their intercourse is embarrassed."

One of the weaknesses in the Latin-American policy pursued by all of them has arisen from the fact that their utterances and their actions have been inconsistent. While defining their policy as one of coöperation based upon mutual compromise and consent, they have frequently resorted to intervention and coercion. On the whole, I think, their intentions have been good; but they have been subjected to pressure at home and irritation in Latin America. The people of Latin America have not been easy to deal with. Handicapped by an unfortunate colonial heritage, the aftermath of a bloody struggle for independence, political inexperience, lack of training in the practical sciences, and in many instances by a debilitating climate, they have been disorderly in politics and administration, and have severely tried our patience.

The Hoover administration has made considerable progress in the removal of Latin-American suspicion. The recall of the marines from Haiti and the announcement of the intention to withdraw them from Nicaragua were important steps in the process. The policy pursued toward Mexico under the ambassadorship of Dwight Morrow furnished relief to Latin Americans who suffered uneasiness with regard to the extent of official pressure which the United States would exert in support of Yankee claims and dividends. Tending in the same direction is the policy announced in the middle of April with reference to revolutions in Nicaragua and Honduras.

But it will be necessary to pursue this conciliatory policy still further if resentment and distrust are entirely to be removed. The abandonment of the exercise of an "international police power" in the Caribbean under the Roosevelt Corollary of the Monroe Doctrine would doubtless be an important contribution to the cause, as would likewise a generous policy toward the states of Panama, Costa Rica, Hon-

duras, and El Salvador with respect to the Panama Canal and the prospective Nicaragua Canal. It may also be necessary to make some modification in our recognition policy and our tariff.

An elaborate enumeration of issues which tend to produce inter-American discord is not required at this time. President Hoover and Secretary Stimson know what they are. If these issues are settled amicably and justly, the outstanding achievement of the Hoover administration may well be connected with his Latin-American policy. In the long run, the supreme test of the moral values of our civilization may be found in our relations with these weak and retarded nations to the south.

## THE POET LAUREATE OF HOPE END

ANNETTE B. HOPKINS

"**I** NOW read to gain ideas, not to indulge my fancy," wrote fourteen year old Elizabeth Barrett in *Glimpses into my own Life and Literary character*,<sup>1</sup> describing herself at the age of thirteen.

It is a curious circumstance that from the time of the eighties when Mrs. Ritchie, Dr. Furnivall, and the persistent Mr. John Ingram were pestering Browning (to use his own term) for information on his wife's early history down to the most recent romantic biographers wringing dry the familiar sources for the familiar facts, no teller of Mrs. Browning's story seems to have come across this important narrative of her inner life. In spite of an assertion in a recent biography of the Brownings that "Of the feelings and thoughts which filled this ardent spirit, we have a record almost embarrassingly full. She has told practically everything of herself,"<sup>2</sup> the *Glimpses into my own Life and Literary character* reveals a continuity of intellectual growth, a picture of self-training and objective criticism which her biographers do not seem to have captured and which helps to explain interesting temperamental phenomena of her mature years. Furthermore, since most of the autobiographical data for this early period, present in her poems and letters, consist of the adult's recollections of her childhood, the *Glimpses* has the fresh vividness of an immediate record that makes it a distinct contribution to our knowledge of her personality.

<sup>1</sup>Elizabeth Barrett Browning. *Hitherto Unpublished Poems and Stories with an Inedited Autobiography*. (Printed exclusively for Members of the Bibliophile Society. Boston, 1914. Two vols. Introduction by H. Buxton Forman). The *Autobiography* occupies pages 3-38 of Vol. I. For permission to use this book I am indebted to the courtesy of the Bibliophile Society. In quoting from the *Autobiography* I have followed the spelling and punctuation without comment. Statements quoted from H. B. Forman are taken from this book and from another book, entitled *Elizabeth Barrett Browning. [New Data.] The Poets' Encyclopedion, etc.* (Printed exclusively for Members of the Bibliophile Society. Boston, 1914).

<sup>2</sup>Osbert Burdett, *The Brownings* (New York, 1929), p. 5.

The history of this little book can be soon told. With other of Mrs. Browning's personal belongings it must have fallen to her husband after her death and thence to their son, Robert Wiedemann Barrett Browning, after his father's death. In his possession it remained until his own death in 1913. On May first of this same year it was disposed of at the famous sale of Browning effects by Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge, "auctioneers of literary property at their house, no. 13 Wellington Street, Strand." Eventually, it came into the hands of the Bibliophile Society of Boston and together with other of Mrs. Browning's juvenile compositions was prepared for the Society's press by H. Buxton Forman and privately printed, in sumptuous form, in 1914. For sixteen years, then, the little volume has been in print, in this day of intimate biographical revelation, and all this while interest in the Brownings has been increasing, to judge from the number of recent lives of both poets, especially of Mrs. Browning, yet it seems to have successfully escaped the attention of her biographers until the present writer, in something of the same mood of idle curiosity that made Browning the possessor of the *Old Yellow Book*, pulled it down from a top shelf in the Widener library. Like the thimble in the game in which that familiar object is sought for, Elizabeth Barrett's autobiography lay effectually hidden in full view.

The secrecy surrounding the book during the Brownings' lifetime can be explained by their unusual attitude towards submitting the facts of her history to the public—a strange attitude to take towards a life containing no deep and dark mystery, nothing that could not stand the most searching of probes. Concerning Browning's knowledge of the existence of this autobiography, Mr. Forman writes: "That record Browning certainly knew, for it was found wrapped in paper and marked by him with the words, 'Her own life & character to her 15th year.'"<sup>8</sup> At what period Browning wrapped up and labeled the little package we do not know; probably it was at the time of his wife's death. It

<sup>8</sup> *New Data*, p. 18.

may have been this book, along with other data, that he had in mind in the following letter to Dr. Furnivall, or he may have forgotten its existence, or he may never even have read it. Any one of these suppositions is possible. The letter, dated September 7, 1885, is in reply to a request from Furnivall for material for a life of Browning and that of his wife. After stating his willingness to furnish what he can about himself, he says:

But in the other case the little I confidently can profess to *know* I am forced to be silent about; and how very little that is appears extraordinary to me, and may seem almost incredible to anybody else. The personality of my wife was so strange and peculiar that I had no curiosity to go beyond it and concern myself with matters which she was evidently disinclined to communicate. I believe I discovered her birthday—the day, not the date—three weeks ago, when engaged in some search after missing letters.<sup>4</sup>

In the light of this apparent indifference it is not improbable that he had never read the autobiography in spite of having wrapped it up. Browning's lack of curiosity about his wife's past, for a man of his intellectual acquisitiveness is indeed extraordinary; it may be understood partly through the fact that what he discovered Miss Barrett to be, from the time of their first meeting and onward, so abundantly satisfied him that he never seems to have had the desire to look before or after.

But perhaps still more surprising are Miss Barrett's declarations about her life records. In the well-known letter to Richard Hengist Horne, dated October 5, 1843, in answer to his request for facts about her life, she writes:

'So you think I am in the habit of keeping biographical sketches in my table-drawer for the use of hypothetical editors? Alas!—

Once, indeed, for one year, I kept a diary in detail and largely; and at the end of the twelve months was in such a crisis of self disgust that there was nothing for me but to leave off the diary. Did you ever try the effect of a diary upon your own mind? It is curious, especially where elastic spirits and fancies are at work upon a fixity of character

<sup>4</sup>*Letters from Robert Browning to Various Correspondents* (ed. T. J. Wise, 1st Series. London, 1895-96), II, 41.

and situation. You see how it is. I have no biographical sketch, and perhaps if I had—my dear Mr. Horne, the public do not care for me enough to care at all for my biography. . . . Most of my events, and nearly all my intense pleasures, have passed in my *thoughts*, etc.<sup>5</sup>

Then follow the few facts that all subsequent biographers and editors have drawn upon. But in all this, not a word about the autobiography. Has she forgotten, or is she prevaricating, or is she splitting hairs? Clearly the diary is not the autobiography. These compositions are listed in the sales catalogue as separate items (109 and 110, respectively) and the record shows that they were sold to different persons. Since the autobiography admirably bears out her statement that most of her events and nearly all her intense pleasures passed in her thoughts she may have regarded biography as the story mainly of one's external life. If so, she was justified in saying that she had no biographical sketch and we are relieved from charging her with any of the above defections.

Before opening this little volume of confessions, let us glance for a moment at the environment of the child who wrote it. Elizabeth Barrett's father, Edward Barrett Moulton, changed his name to Edward Barrett Moulton-Barrett on the death of his maternal grandfather whose estate in Jamaica he inherited as a very young man. The Barretts had long been connected with the West Indies and Elizabeth, the eldest of twelve<sup>6</sup> children—most of the records erroneously give eleven—was the first of the family for generations to be born in England. Three years after her birth in 1806 at the home of her father's brother, Samuel, at Coxhoe Hall near Durham, Edward Barrett Moulton-Barrett decided to settle permanently in England. Fortified with the ample income from his West Indian plantations, he selected a pleasant spot in Hertfordshire near the Malvern Hills where he erected a stately pleasure dome architecturally quite at odds with the

<sup>5</sup> *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning addressed to Richard Hengist Horne* (New York, 1877), pp. 124 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Autobiography*, p. XVIII.

neighborhood and called it Hope End. The name in the light of after events had a prophetic significance. Here Elizabeth lived for the next twenty-three years, luxuriously nurtured, carefully guarded, foolishly encouraged by her indulgent yet abnormally tyrannical father to behave like a poet, after the family had discovered her talent. Here she found companions among her oncoming brothers and sisters. Here she lived when indoors buried in books and her own manuscripts and when out-of-doors, rambling in the garden or deer park or exploring alluring country lanes on Moses, her black pony. When she was about fifteen there occurred the first check to her happiness, the something which started her on the road to nearly continuous invalidism for the rest of her life. Whether it was a fall from her pony, as some say, or "a common cough striking on an insubstantial frame," as she herself says, has never been settled.<sup>7</sup> Seven years later came the death of her mother, a quiet, self-effacing personality, who plays but a shadowy part in her story, and four years after that, in 1832, the permanent removal of the family from Hope End. The abolition of colonial slavery wrecked the Barrett fortunes and the glittering domed mansion had to be exchanged for humbler quarters. The next few years proved to be the most varied and eventful in her life so far—her own serious illness, the tragic drowning of her beloved brother, Edward, confirmed invalidism, authorship and publication, and the final establishment of the Barrett family in the prison-like number 50 Wimpole Street which was to become famous as the scene of her courtship by Robert Browning.

*The Glimpses into my own Life and Literary character* is, in manuscript, written on "a thick little fasciculus of paper, to all appearance cut, folded, and sewn together by herself *en amateur*," Mr. Forman says. "The size of the booklet thus put together is 5 x 3  $\frac{1}{4}$  inches—a size easy to carry about in the pocket while the composition was in active progress; and the number of pages is eighty. The original heading

<sup>7</sup> Burdett, *op. cit.* p. 11.

on the first page was 'My own life'; but this was altered, probably when the whole was finished, to 'Glimpses into my own Life and Literary character.' ”<sup>8</sup> The writing as shown by the holograph, though it differs from her mature hand in being more flowing and thus giving a very different effect, looks more like that of a woman than a child. It has more individuality than her style which is correct, colorless, and imitative—the qualities of a style on the way to but not yet arrived at individuality.

She begins in a meditative mood:

To be one's own chronicler is a task generally dictated by extreme vanity and often by that instinctive feeling which prompts the soul of man to snatch the records of his life from the dun and misty ocean of oblivion—(p. 3).

Man naturally desires immortality yet he shrinks from death. "Nothing can more plainly denote the soul's eternity" than man's universal desire for immortality. God would not "tantalize" man with the yearning for continuance of life, the young philosopher argues, if man were to find his "last sad asylum in the grave." The sage living in wooded solitude may despise the world and yet even he dreads to die unmourned and forgotten.

But no feeling of this kind has influenced me . . . to write my own life. I am of too little consequence. . . . Perhaps these pages may never meet a human eye—and therefore no *excessive* vanity can dictate them, tho' a feeling akin to it, SELF LOVE, may have prompted my not unwilling pen. In writing my own life, to be impartial is a difficult task and being so can only excuse such an attempt from one so young and inexperienced (p. 3).

Thus the foreword; not closely reasoned, but the drift is clear and clear, too, is her saturation with the graveyard school of poetry and Gray from whom she quotes. And her awareness of the dangers of partiality in depicting her own portrait is certainly commendable.

Her story starts from what was apparently her earliest

<sup>8</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 3, n. 1.

recollection at the age of three and very definitely records the traits of character and the intellectual pleasures and pursuits for each year up to and through her fourteenth when the account ends. Of this earlier portion it would be hard to say how much is due to memory and how much to imagination. No doubt both faculties play a part. She describes herself as "always of a determined and if thwarted violent disposition," but much more uncontrolled at three "than now at fourteen." It was at three that she reigned in the nursery and was "renowned amongst the servants for self love and excessive passion." As yet there is no sign of intellectual interest; that begins to show itself a little later, at four and a half, when she delighted in

fairy phenomenons and the actions of necromancers—and the Seven Champions of Christendom. . . . At five I supposed myself a heroine . . . and often have I laid awake hours in darkness, 'THINKING,' as I expressed myself, but which was no more than musing on these fairy castles in the air! (p. 6).

This last is an example of the discrimination, the objective judgment which is a distinguishing mark of the record. Even at fourteen she knows the difference between thinking and musing.

At six she is still usurping in the nursery, riding over her "dearest Bro" who "never allowed the rage for power to injure the endearing sweetness of his temper." This was her brother, Edward, two years younger than herself, until his tragic death in 1840 the person she loved most in the world, throughout their childhood her constant companion and the recipient of her ideas on every subject.

At six, too, occurred the event that started her on her life career. It may be doubted whether even Milton or Pope, examples of poetic precocity and early determined bent, consciously dedicated themselves to poetry by the age of six, never thereafter to swerve from the aim. Premonitions of the event had appeared when she had "first mounted Pegasus" at four. It was not long before she achieved recognition:

In my sixth year for some lines on virtue which I had penned with great care, I received from Papa a ten shilling note enclosed in a letter which was address to *the Poet Laureat of Hope End*. I mention this because I received more pleasure from the word *Poet* than from the ten shilling note. I did not understand the meaning of the word *Laureat*, but it being explained to me by my dearest Mama, the idea first presented itself to me of celebrating our birthdays by my verse: '*Poet Laureat of Hope End*' was too great a title to lose (pp. 7-8).

Thus was born a poet, a canny one, who recognized, even at six, opportunity when it came her way and resolved forthwith to embrace it and live up to it. And the idea of celebrating "our birthdays" by her verse was an excellent one, for there were a great many birthdays as well as other family events to celebrate. Judging by the number of poems printed by Mr. Forman, the little poet laureate had ample opportunity to practice occasional verse and to earn her title at least through industry. The chief merit in this initial poem, the "Lines on Virtue," lies in its having given a definite direction to her incipient talent, which was henceforth allowed to develop at will, her elders giving her every encouragement. That this hothouse treatment did not ruin her is a tribute to her virile common sense.

Now, having started herself on a career, she wisely commences to discipline her mind.

At seven I began to think of 'forming my taste'—perhaps I did not express my thought in those refined words but I considered it time '*to see what was best to write about and read about!*' (pp. 8-9).

Seven found her reading the history of England and of Rome; eight, the history of Greece, Pope's *Iliad*, parts of the *Odyssey* and *Paradise Lost*, *The Tempest*, and *Othello*.

I was enchanted with all these but I think the story interested me more than the poetry till 'the Minstrel' met my sight. I was then too young to feel the loveliness of simple beauty,—I required something dazzling to strike my mind. The brilliant imagery, the fine metaphors and flowing numbers of 'The Minstrel' truly astonished me. Every stanza excited my ardent admiration, nor can I now remember the delight which I felt on perusing those pages without enthusiasm (p. 9).

Here is a singularly definite and objective recording of steps in the development of her taste. First, poetry was enjoyed for the story; next, for conspicuous imagery; taste for the "loveliness of simple beauty" was yet to come.

The style of the *Glimpses*, no doubt infected by her much reading of eighteenth century romanticists, takes on at time a decidedly florid coloring:

At nine I felt much pleasure from the effusions of my imagination in the adorned drapery of versification (p. 9).

But life at this stage was not all pleasure; the note of self-discipline is heard in the midst of this intellectual garden of delight: . . . "but nothing could compensate for the regret on laying down a book to take up a pen." She mentions as her reading in this period Pope's *Iliad*, Shakespeare, and novels which she "enjoyed to their full extent" (pp. 9-10).

At this age works of the imagination only afforded me gratification and I trod the delightful fields of fancy without any of those conscientious scruples which now always attend me when wasting time in frivolous pleasures (p. 10).

So much for the mature judgment of fourteen upon reading suited to the capacities of nine. We may see here how she sounded her mental depth through her own experience, how she naturally graded her own reading instead of having it done for her. Though she does speak earlier of her mother's selecting for her passages from *Paradise Lost*, her reading, with this exception, seems to have been of her own choosing.

She admits honestly that at ten her "poetry was entirely formed by the style of written authors" and that she read that she might write. Again the self-discipline. "Novels were still my most delightful study," she says. But

At eleven I wish to be considered an authoress. Novels were thrown aside. [The novels apparently had been read only for the story]. Poetry and Essays were my studies and I felt the most ardent desire to understand the learned languages. To comprehend even the Greek alphabet was delight inexpressible (p. 10).

To gratify this longing she had obtained permission to begin the study of Greek with Mr. McSwiney, her brother Edward's tutor, and with this adventurous extension of her intellectual horizon, like the young Milton, she began to dream of fame:

For months during this year I never remember having diverted my attention to any other object than the ambition of gaining fame. . . . I was determined to gain the very pinnacle of excellence and even when this childish and foolishly ambitious idea had fled not by the weight or argument of a more experienced adviser but by my own reflections and conviction I yet looked with regret—painful regret to the heaven of that distinguished fame I had sighed for so long—and so ardently! (pp. 10-11).

Again the wisdom of fourteen dispassionately analyzes the emotions of an earlier stage and estimates them for what they were worth. The phrase "not by the weight or argument of a more experienced adviser but by my own reflections and conviction" is very significant in showing her intellectual independence. Tutors and parents could teach this child little of what is now known as character building. She was sufficient unto herself.

The passage in which she records the incident of her disillusionment about her confidence in her own powers as a creative artist is important enough to be quoted in full:

I never felt more real anguish than when I was undeceived on this point. I am not vain naturally and I have still less of the pedant in my composition than self conceit but I confess that during these eight months I never felt myself of more consequence and never had a better opinion of my own talents. In short I was in infinite danger of being as vain as I was inexperienced. During this dangerous period I was from home and the fever of a heated imagination was perhaps increased by the intoxicating gaieties of a watering place, Ramsgate where we then were and where I commenced my poem. 'The Battle of Marathon' now in print!! When we came home one day after having written a page of poetry which I considered models of beauty I ran down stairs to the library to seek Pope's Homer in order to compare them that I might enjoy my own SUPERIORITY. I can never think of this instance of the intoxication of vanity without smiling at my childish

folly and ridiculous vanity. I brought Homer up in triumph and read first my own Poem and afterwards began to compare. I read fifty lines from the glorious Father of the lyre.—It was enough. . . . I felt the whole extent of my immense and mortifying inferiority.

My first impulse was to throw with mingled feelings of contempt and anguish my composition on the floor—my next to burst into tears! And I wept for an hour and then returned to reason and humility. Since then I have not felt MANY twitches of vanity and my mind has never since been intoxicated by any ridiculous dreams of greatness!—From this period for a twelvemonth I could find no pleasure in any book but Homer. I read and longed to read again and though I nearly had it by heart I still found new beauties and fresh enchantments (pp. 11-12).

Could any wisely experienced elder have devised a better treatment for the disease of self importance than this child thought out for herself and at once acted upon? Here is unfolded a complete little spectacle of that sin by which the angels fell: the long absorption so profound that even the charms of Ramsgate fail to distract, the easy confidence, the approach to the pinnacle of triumph, and the fall. The reaction is inevitable—a return to the determined and if thwarted, violent disposition of nursery days, but the recovery is where the real triumph comes. What a knack of control it shows and what sense and courage, in not turning against Homer but becoming only the more devoted.

After her vivid, restless mind had gradually enlarged its capacity for enjoyment from the delights of story for its own sake, to various patterns of literary style from the flamboyant to the more subtle, the next step was naturally towards something more stimulating.

At twelve. . . . Metaphysics were my highest delight and after having read a page from Locke my mind not only felt edified but exalted (p. 13).

As naturally, follows religious speculation. One is surprised that in the light of her precocious development, it did not come earlier. She revolted at the idea of an Established Church and took to composing her own prayers. "At this age I was in danger of becoming the founder of a reli-

gion of my own," she says, adding with her usual discrimination, "My faith was sincere but my religion was founded solely on the imagination." Like many another ardent young religionist she now experiences periods of exaltation, of horror and depression, and of calm.

Here she returns to the record of her reading. For the first time she read Milton and Shakespeare through. Pope's Homer is still a favorite. But now she reads in admiration of their "glorious poetic excellence" rather than with any foolish idea of imitating or surpassing them. It was at this time that she was reading to gain ideas, not to indulge her fancy, and she adds: "I studied the works of those critics whose attention was directed to my favorite authors." Thus a further stage of development is reached; she begins to read criticism. And not, it should be noticed, before she has laid a foundation for understanding criticism.

I had now attained my thirteenth birthday! I had taught myself 'to throw away ambition,' and to feel that pride and self conceit can only bring in self degradation (p. 14).

Her outward life was at this period very calm, she says,

And yet my mind since the first year of my birth has ever been in commotion, not proceeding from external causes but from those internal reflections and internal passions which are such powerful attributes of my character and which I trust it has been my study to subdue! (p. 15).

This description of her mental activity she was to confirm years afterwards, when she wrote Horne that most of her events and nearly all her intense pleasures had passed in her thoughts. This passage in the *Glimpses* explains what a populous life she must have led as a child, while to outward appearances, calling up before one as she does, the inevitable picture of a little person continually reading or writing by herself, she must have seemed often lonely.

At this age, thirteen, she records "a memorable epoch" in her life: "I finished my poem. . . . I was repaid for all my labours—the book was printed!" This was *The Battle*

of *Marathon*, the poem which she had begun two years earlier and which, if she had had less sense, might have proved her Waterloo in poetic composition. Now, revised and completed, she had the satisfaction of seeing it actually in print. "Fifty copies were printed," she wrote Horne, "because papa was bent upon spoiling me."<sup>9</sup> She then makes a disparaging comment on it in the nature of her judgment on the first version. But in spite of her strictures, *The Battle of Marathon*, with its elaborate dedication to her father, its imposing preface on the art of poetry, sprinkled with quotations from the Latin of Sallust, Cicero, and Horace in the approved manner of the classical eighteenth century; with its heroic couplets often catching the proper rhythmic swing and bearing clear evidence of her debt to Pope, and her familiarity with the tricks of epic style—this poem, faults and all, could scarcely be regarded by even the most critical of critics as anything less an uncommonly good performance for a child of thirteen. So rarely is Mr. Barrett's conduct towards his daughter to be commended that we are glad of an instance such as this when we can applaud his "spoiling" her to the extent of printing fifty copies of her poem.

Virgil and Hooker are now added to her reading; Virgil and Homer she was reading in the original "with delight inexpressible" (p. 15). And she rather pathetically hopes to approach "that immortal fane" she had solemnly renounced, just near enough "to appreciate duly the magnificence of those soaring genius's who seek the pinnacle of excellence tho' I must not pursue!"

She has now reached her fourteenth year and the middle of her autobiography. The record, therefore, ceases to be retrospective and becomes an analysis of her present personality and interests, though still preserving its singular objectivity. From the vantage ground of fourteen she can look at herself and observe that her character, proud, wilful, impatient, impetuous as it was in her "tenderest infancy" is still unchanged, "but thanks be to God it is restrained." She

\* *Letters . . . to Horne*, p. 126.

can now distinguish in herself two persons—what she is and what she appears to be:

I have acquired a command of myself which has become so habitual that my disposition appears to my friends to have undergone a revolution. But to myself it is well known that the same violent inclinations are in my inmost heart (p. 16).

Here we see described the psychological prototype of Aurora Leigh who in an interesting passage in the first book of her history<sup>10</sup> explains her ability when a child to lead a sharply contrasting inner and outer life at the same time.

Again she says, "I have always some end in view which requires exertion." She associates tranquillity with intellectual void, feeling contempt for it as "precluding in great measure the intellectual faculties of the human mind." Only occasionally she speaks of religion. After she had rejected at twelve the idea of establishing a religion of her own, she reverted at thirteen, curiously she thought, to the Church of England, but she explains the move as due to the dominance of imagination over reason. And now at fourteen we see her struggling between the sway of reason and imagination, believing her religion to be "perhaps more reasonable than formerly" and yet regretting "those enthusiastic visions of what may be called fanaticism which exalted my soul on the wings of fancy to the contemplation of the Deity" (p. 17).

This latter half of the *Glimpses* is not so logically constructed as the first half where she had chronology to guide her. Come to the year in which she is writing, she lets her mind wander at will from one idea to another with little apparent attempt to put her thoughts in order. This reflection on religion suggests Locke, of whom she again speaks with deep enthusiasm: "In accompanying Locke through his complex reasoning and glorious subjects my mind seems more enlarged, more cultivated and more enlightened!" Though she does not describe her experience in images, the intellectual emotion is akin to Keats's when he first dipped into Chapman's Homer.

<sup>10</sup> *Aurora Leigh* (Boston, 1909, I. vv. 1036 ff.

From this she drifts into a close examination of her character, much of which is repetition of earlier observation. She seems impressed with the naturally ungovernable quality in her disposition. We see the idealist speaking. She has contempt for any littleness of mind or meanness of soul: She can never love where she does not admire. She trusts she is liberal, for bigotry and prejudice she detests. She understands little of theology but is fond of listening to disputations on the subject. She is "capable of patriotism, enthusiastic and sincere." This thought leads to a stout and impassioned defense of the unfortunate Queen Caroline, consort of George IV and is followed immediately by the announcement,

About this time my beloved Bro left us for school [Charterhouse]—If I ever loved any human being I love this dear Brother—the Partner of my pleasures, of my literary toils. My attachment to him is literally devoted! If to save him from anxiety, from mental vexation any effort of mine could suffice, Heaven knows my heart that I would unhesitatingly buy his happiness with my own misery! (pp. 19-20).

She indulges at some length in morbid fears for the future moral welfare of this beloved Bro although her anxiety seems to be groundless. The florid rhetoric of these passages might be thought to savor of insincerity did we not remember how steeped she was in eighteenth century eloquence. She is too honest, too serious to be insincere.

Observing with truth, "perhaps there is too much of sentiment in my disposition and too little rational reflection," she resumes her analysis. She glories like any young individualist in the independence of her spirit:

My mind is naturally independent and spurns the subserviency of opinion which is generally considered necessary to feminine softness. . . . I feel within me an almost proud consciousness of independence which prompts me to defend my opinions and to yield them only to conviction!!!!!! (p. 24).

Here are sentiments worthy of Rousseau or Shelley.

Suddenly she returns to her intellectual interests and

tells an incident that shows how the instinctive scholar in her is struggling for satisfaction.

To be a good linguist is the height of my ambition . . . whenever I am employed in any literary undertaking which requires much depth of thought and learned reference I cannot help feeling uneasy and imagining that if I were conversant with such languages I might perhaps come to a decision at once on a point which now occupies days in conjecture ! !

This is tormenting and sometimes agitates me to a painful and almost nervous degree. I well remember three years ago ere I had the advantage of Mr. McSwiny's instruction and having found myself in one of these perplexities, crying very heartily for half an hour because I did not understand Greek! ! !—

It was then that I made a secret vow never to pause at undertaking any literary difficulty if convinced of its final utility, but manfully to wade thro' the waves of learning, stopping my ears against the enchanting voices of the Syren and unmindful of either the rocks of disappointment or the waves of labour (pp. 24-26).

Beneath this rhetorical embroidery we see the characteristic discrimination—"if convinced of its final utility"—and the sheer grit of the scholar in the making.

This is the last comment on her intellectual life. The closing paragraph describe in rhapsodical fashion the state of emotional instability in which she finds herself—first on the heights, then in the depths, but all this going on within. "In society I am pretty nearly the same as other people" (p. 27). She brings her "tragic Comedy" to a close with words which, when read with her subsequent history in mind, have a special significance: ". . . there may be joys which await me: but I know not! My destiny lies in the hands of God!!" (p. 28). A little epilogue advises: "her most patient auditors thus: 'before the Curtain falls let me beg you if you wish to keep up your spirits never to write your own life.'" She expresses here the same sense of despair which she told Horne had caused her to discontinue her diary. That she should, herself, without external advice detect at fourteen the danger of introspection and determine to steer away from it shows unusual sanity.

Apparently she felt the continuance of objective self-analysis too difficult to keep up without floundering in self-disgust. Her method in the first half of the autobiography is obviously easier. There, she could get herself in perspective and so set down her findings dispassionately. She was writing of her mental life as a story. In the latter part she is forced from narrative to analysis. She is necessarily very close to her object, too close for her. She loses her admirable detachment somewhat and becomes a little self-conscious and over-emotional. The increasing exclamation points are a symbol of the change in tone.

Browning, in the biographical note prefixed to the 1887 edition of his wife's poems, says: "In point of fact, she was self-taught in almost every respect." To the truth of this statement the autobiography is a potent witness. In the business of forming her moral character, in developing her intellectual tastes and habits she was for the most part self-sufficient. Her natural independence supported her, also, in her struggles towards a satisfactory religious faith. The movement toward freedom, back to the Established Church, and out again to what she felt to be a rationalistic belief, which was going on in her consciousness from the age of twelve to fourteen, is predictive of her final stand as expressed in a letter to Browning<sup>11</sup> shortly before their marriage.

That she was allowed to be her own chief educator is fortunate; she thus got far more than if she had been subjected to the usual round of inconsequential, so beautifully satirized in *Mansfield Park*, that made up what passed for the educational content enjoyed by young ladies in the early part of the last century. But in view of the rigor of this early training, the lack of artistic discipline that mars so much of her mature poetry is rather difficult to account for. The effect of discipline is present, certainly, in her illuminating criticism of Browning's poetry before their marriage. An explana-

<sup>11</sup> *Letters of Robert Browning and Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, 1845-1846* (New York, 1899), II, 427 f.

tion may perhaps lie in the natural rebound from restraint and self-importance which came to her in later years.

In this history of her own life and literary character she keeps singularly close to her subject; only three times, and then very briefly, does the outer, material world intrude upon her recital of spiritual events. If we had only this document to go upon, we should be forced to conclude that she had no childhood. But as already shown, the record of her external life gives an entirely different view of the complex nature of this extraordinary child.

. . . . the sun and I together  
Went a-rushing out of doors,

she writes in "Hector in the Garden." This, from the standpoint of normality, is the more wholesome side of the picture. Yet, to her, it was the less important side. The *vita meditativa* which she claimed to be her real life as a child was the only possible preparation in discipline of character for the years of invalidism that were to begin at fifteen and continue, with but few interruptions, until her marriage twenty-five years later. She was building in those early days far more wisely than she realized.

As a child she is shown to have lived a very intense inner life—for its satisfaction, a life largely beyond the need of external stimuli. This early cultivated self-poise explains the vigor and variety of her intellectual life as a woman. Physically frail, suffering, and confined to the house as she was, mainly to one darkened upper room for years, with no hope of release but through death, yet even before Browning came to quicken her fires, her inner life seems to have burned always, if at times unsteadily. Her letters convey a sense of cheerful busyness, of wit, of gaiety. One reads them and feels that her life was full. "Once I wished *not* to live," she wrote in 1842, referring probably to the death of her brother Edward, "but the faculty of life seems to have sprung up within me again."<sup>12</sup> This was three years before the begin-

<sup>12</sup> *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (ed. by F. G. Kenyon, London, 1898), "To H. S. Boyd, March 2, 1842," I, 100.

ning of her correspondence with Browning. It was this live woman, not the invalid, who evoked Browning's interest; it was the response of one vigorous mind and passionate personality to another. This autobiography reveals, in their beginnings the learning, the literary interests, the faculty for passing acute judgments on men and books and events, the capacity for passion that in their mature form were to prove for Robert Browning an irresistible charm. This tiny book, a child's impartial history of her mental growth, should hold a unique place in the long line of self-revelations that have gone to make up the literature of confession.

## THE WORLD AND ITS MAIL

NORMAN L. HILL

### I

THOUSANDS of letters are dispatched daily from the United States to the remote parts of the world with a confidence founded on experience that the addresses will receive them with a minimum of delay. The cheap and efficient service available for international postal communication belongs to that large class of conveniences which the public at large takes for granted. It is made possible by the Universal Postal Union, which for well over a half a century has facilitated international trade and the interchange of ideas among diverse peoples by the services that it provides.

Prior to the establishment of the Universal Postal Union in 1874 international postal communication was handicapped by the disparity of national regulations, coupled with the fact that high charges on mail were imposed by the country of origin, the country of destination, and every state through which it passed. The dispatch of a letter from Germany to the eastern coast of South America cost sixty-five cents. A letter might be sent from the United States to Australia for five, thirty-three, forty-five, fifty-five, sixty cents, or \$1.02 per half ounce, according to the route by which it travelled. A letter from Berlin to Rome cost the sender over a dollar, which was divided between four services. The clerical work involved in routing mail and applying the proper tariff was a most complicated matter.

It was the postal administration of the United States which took the initiative in behalf of the improvement of the international service. Postmaster General Blair in 1862 suggested a conference at which the postal administrations of the world would be represented for the purpose of agreeing upon some form of action with regard to "the large number of obstacles to foreign correspondence which can be removed

only by concerted international action." Fifteen governments indicated a willingness to accede to the American request for a conference, and consequently the representatives of the interested states met at Paris in 1863.

The accomplishments of the Paris Conference were not satisfactory. The thirty-one general principles which were adopted to guide nations in the determination of their postal policies were not widely applied, and the old system or lack of system continued to exist. Therefore, in 1869 negotiations were begun by Germany with the objective of calling a new conference, at which action of a more binding nature might be taken.

Twenty-two states, including the United States, sent delegates to the Berne Conference of 1874. Using as the basis of deliberations a project prepared by M. de Stephan, director-general of the postal system of Germany, the group of delegates created a Universal Postal Union, which has since been endeavoring to improve the conditions of postal communication.

## II

There are one hundred and eighty-six countries, colonies, and territories, comprising one hundred and twenty-four postal administrations, which make up the membership of the union. Only a few small territories, including Northern Rhodesia, the State of Alaouites, and a number of small islands, are outside of the authority of the union. It is interesting to observe that dependencies are members of the organization as well as independent states. The Philippine Islands are regarded as a single postal administration with the same rights of voting that sovereign states possess. On the other hand, Hawaii, Guam, and the Virgin Islands are grouped together into one administration. Of the French dependencies only Algeria and Indo-China are classed as separate administrations, while the others are combined into one.

The organization of the union consists of a congress, a

conference, and a permanent bureau. The congress is in the nature of a constitutional convention with the authority to negotiate alterations in the conventions that provide the constitutional basis of the union, whereas the conference is able to deal only with the detailed regulations which have a more statutory character. There have been eleven congresses and conferences that have occurred since 1874, an average of one every five years. The last one was held at London during the summer of 1929, at which over 2,000 propositions were presented for consideration. Only a small number of them were adopted, all of which related to technical aspects of postal communication, such as methods of weighing mails and measures of safety for registered matter. The next congress will meet at Cairo, Egypt, in 1934.

The dependencies which constitute postal administrations are represented at these meetings, with the result that the large empires have more influence and voting-power than other states are allowed. The British Empire has seven representatives, the French Empire four, and the American three. This conspicuous position given to dependencies has been one of the few non-technical controversies among the members of the union. At the Stockholm Congress of 1924 the Swiss delegate voiced the apprehension of nations without colonial possessions. He stated that the experience of the past had been that as soon as one of the large powers had received a new vote, the others, not wishing to be left behind, had clamored for additional voting-power. It was his opinion that the extension of full rights of participation to such a large number of colonies had had a "disorganizing effect." Many states, he pointed out, had withheld ratification of the Madrid Convention on account of their opposition to the treatment given to the subject of colonial votes at the Madrid Congress of 1920.

The permanent bureau of the Universal Postal Union, located at Berne, Switzerland, is headed by a director, M. Evariste Garbani-Nerini, who has held the office since 1925. There have been only five directors of the bureau for the

period of approximately fifty-five years that the organ has been in existence, a fact which has contributed to the high standard of its work. The first director, M. Borel, who was also active in the creation of the union, held the post for eighteen years, and during that period of time did a great deal to place the operations of the agency upon a systematic basis.

The duties of the bureau are manifold and important. One of the most useful services of the agency is the adjustment, upon request, of the financial accounts of national postal administrations at the end of a fiscal period. Where a state has performed more services than have been rendered it by the postal administrations of other nations, it is entitled to compensation. Inland states are obliged to pay large sums annually to their neighbors for the transportation of mails, in accordance with the findings of the bureau.

International postal communication is facilitated by the fact that disputes between postal administrations concerning the interpretation and application of the convention of the union are arbitrated. There have been eight arbitrations since 1920, all of which have related to technical matters, such as rates and the responsibility of postal administrations for losses of mail.

### III

A letter from Chicago to Athens, Greece, will ordinarily arrive at its destination in twelve or thirteen days. It will travel from New York to France and will pass through France, Switzerland, and Italy, where it will leave the port of Brindisi by boat for Greece. This trip entails the coöperative efforts of the postal administrations of five nations, two steamship companies, and at least six railway companies. All this is done at a cost of five cents to the sender, provided he keeps the contents of his mail within one ounce. The cheap rate provided, the apportionment of the revenue among the postal administrations, and the right to send mail across intermediate states are achievements of the Universal Postal Union.

The minimization of national boundary lines in regard to postal communication is further indicated by the wide variety of services which come under the authority of the union. All the one hundred and twenty-four postal administrations within the union have accepted its regulations dealing with letters, post-cards, printed matter, printed matter for the blind, samples of merchandise, commercial papers, registered mail, and merchandise. These regulations specify the weights of those types of mail matter which will be accepted for transit, their shapes and sizes, and fix the rates which may be applied to them. Special services relating to parcel post, money orders, the insurance of letters and packages, and other subjects are provided for those postal administrations which desire to take advantage of them.

An appreciation of the contribution of the union to international commerce and to the exchange of ideas and information may be gained from a survey of the volume of postal material which comes within its control. In 1927 there were 3,090,850,036 letters, post-cards, commercial papers, samples of merchandise, and printed papers of every kind mailed in international traffic. This was the largest figure which has been attained to date, amounting to approximately ten times the total for 1880. In 1927 there were also 4,241,077 pieces of insured mail, 42,518,156 parcel post packages, and 20,516,863 money orders sent among members of the Universal Postal Union.

The United States has shared in the benefits of the Universal Postal Union, as the annual reports of the Postmaster General reveal. For the year ending on June 30, 1929, there were, by weight, 6,858,961 pounds of letters entering or leaving the United States, and 47,212,119 pounds of printed matter, nearly all of which was regulated by the general convention of the union. The United States has not acceded to the special conventions relating to parcel post, money-orders, and other matters, but has preferred to rely upon bi-lateral treaties and the convention of the Pan-American Postal Union.

In view of the widespread establishment of aerial lines of postal transportation since the World War, a special conference was called at The Hague in 1927 to deal with the subject. It drafted two acts embodying the general principles that should be applied to the transportation of letters and packages by air-mail. The unification of surcharges levied for aerial transportation and the simplification of the method of remunerating private companies engaged in the carriage of mail were the most important matters taken up.

The United States has adapted its foreign air-mail service to the regulations drafted at The Hague. By the law of March 8, 1928, the Postmaster General was authorized to enter into contracts for the transportation of mails by air to foreign countries and to the insular possessions of the United States. A sea-plane service from Key West, Florida, to Havana, Cuba, was then established, by which all first-class mail for Cuba, except registered mail, is dispatched from Key West by sea-plane with a saving of from six to twenty-four hours in delivery. A little later air-mail lines were inaugurated between New York and Montreal, between Key West and San Juan, Porto Rico, and between Key West and various Central American states. European cities have been connected by a still more extensive air-mail service, particularly in the western half of the continent.

#### IV

It is impossible for any internationally controlled activity to avoid the ruinous consequences of a war. The facilities for postal communication, which were operating so successfully in 1913, were extensively disrupted by the World War. The Universal Postal Union continued to function during the period of 1914-18, but in a much disabled condition. Many of its members were enemy states, between which no means of postal communication could be maintained, owing to the cessation of railway and steamship traffic among them. The states at war were so engrossed in the business of destroying the adversary that they sometimes failed to remit their share

of the expenses of the union and to furnish postal data, which in time of peace they have regularly supplied. It was, of course, impossible during the period to hold a congress or conference, since diplomatic relations were widely suspended, and therefore it was not until 1920, fourteen years after the preceding meeting at Rome, that a congress was called.

The most troublesome problem that the World War provoked in relation to international postal communication was the extent to which belligerent nations might obstruct the mail service provided by neutral vessels. No effort was made by British and French vessels to interfere with the mail found on neutral ships during the first year of the war, but later on they frequently interfered, alleging that Germany was stopping neutral mail ships and capturing packages in the parcel post. In 1915, for instance, the British customs authorities removed 734 bags of parcel post from the Danish steamer *Oscar Second* while it was in a British port en route from the United States to Denmark. At about the same time the entire mails on the Dutch steamer *New Amsterdam* were removed by British officers. Numerous other depredations upon the neutral mail service were made, much to the consternation of private interests as well as government officials. Foreign banks refused to cash American drafts because of the absence of any security that drafts could travel safely. The United States government, prior to 1917, championed the cause of the neutral states and argued that only contraband goods might be captured and that neutral mails should not be taken into British ports for purposes of search and censorship.

The status of mail on neutral vessels in time of war was discussed at the Madrid Postal Congress in 1920, and a proposal was made by Switzerland that all closed dispatches and letter correspondence should be inviolable both on land and sea. No action was taken, however, and the problem remains unsolved.

## V

Every congress and conference since 1863 has been split upon the question of adopting the principle of gratuity of

transit, which would impose upon all states except that of origin the duty of transporting foreign mails without charge. In application the principle would allow the United States no compensation for carrying a letter from Mexico to the United States or from Mexico to Canada. Gratuity of transit has always found support among a large number of the postal administrations which compose the union, and there have always been other countries, such as France and Belgium, bitterly opposing it. Germany, the United States, and Latin-American states have persistently supported the doctrine.

The reason why states have been unable to agree on the merits of the project may be traced back to their relative geographical positions in regard to international postal traffic. Belgium and France are so situated that they derive sizable incomes from the transportation of mail to and from other European states. Similarly, Jugoslavia performs more services for the postal administrations of other countries than she receives in return. Jugoslavia has threatened that if the principle is adopted she will retaliate by arranging that her railway system shall give prior consideration to domestic mail transportation. On the other hand, Uruguay, one of the main supporters of gratuity of transit, is to a large degree dependent upon the postal services of other states. The United States occupies a more neutral position.

Gradually the principle of gratuity is becoming more and more widely accepted. Postal rates have been lowered from time to time within the Universal Postal Union during its history of five and a half decades, suggesting the possibility that transit charges may ultimately be abolished.

Members of the Universal Postal Union are permitted to form smaller unions and special agreements for the purpose of improving the international mail service among themselves and for the adoption of lower rates than those prescribed within the main union. Outstanding among the subordinate unions is the Pan-American Postal Union, which originated in 1911 as the Latin-American Postal Union. With the accession of the United States in 1922 it assumed the name

which is now possesses. Spain is the only nation outside of this hemisphere that is a member. Through its membership in the Pan-American Postal Union, which has adopted the principle of gratuity of transit, and through a number of special agreements, the United States now has a two-cent rate on letters going to all of the Latin-American states except Dutch Guiana, and to Canada, Spain, and Great Britain, in place of the regular five-cent rate of the Universal Postal Union.

In no field of endeavor has coöperation among the states of the world been more successful than in postal administration. It has substituted unity and simplicity for chaos with regard to an activity of primary importance to the amity of nations. The high valuation placed upon the activities of the Universal Postal Union by the United States was well expressed by Postmaster General Hays, who stated in 1921 that "in all times commerce has been the vehicle for the extension of civilization, but the Postal Union has been the greatest agency in the promotion of international understanding and comity."

# B · O · O · K · S

## OUR FOREIGN RELATIONS

**SURVEY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS** [1928, 1929, 1930]. Prepared under the direction of Charles P. Howland, Director of Research of the Council on Foreign Relations, Research Associate in Government at Yale University. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1928-1930. Three volumes. Price \$5.00 each.

The United States became a world power in 1898 and attained a position of tremendous influence in world affairs within the next thirty years. Its foreign trade is now so large and its foreign investments so valuable and widespread that hardly anything of importance can happen at home or abroad without affecting its economic interests. The direction of its foreign policy demands great tact and wisdom, and this policy, in the last analysis, must depend largely upon the education of its citizens with reference to world relationships.

In publishing these annual volumes, the Council on Foreign Relations, with its domicile in New York, has made an important contribution toward this end. The first volume gives an historical survey of the foreign policy of the United States, sets forth the position of the country as an economic power, describes its relations with the League of Nations and its financial relations after the World War, and discusses the problem of the limitation of armaments. The second volume describes the Caribbean relations of the United States, discusses international organization and the relation of the United States thereto, and deals with the immigration policy of the United States at some length. The third volume deals mainly with the relations of the United States with the Far East, but it concerns itself also with world order and co-ordination as well as with certain post-war financial matters.

The volumes are essentially sound, although somewhat heavy and rather conservative in tone. The average citizen, it is to be feared, will not read them with great enthusiasm. Nevertheless, the information is there, if only he has the enthusiasm and intellectual energy to seize upon it.

The people of a democracy like the United States cannot afford to be ignorant of or indifferent toward world affairs. Naturally, the indi-

viduals who are most interested in our foreign relations are those engaged in foreign trade and international finance. It is they who attempt to frame a policy designed to serve their interests, and they are likely to make their influence felt. But the interests of the nation are more important than the interests of any small group within it. In the long run it is the people as a whole who must pay the bills which war will occasion, just as they are constantly contributing to the support of our State, War, and Navy Departments even in peace times. For this reason they should inform themselves with reference to our world relations and our foreign policy. They should neither turn the task over entirely to others, nor act upon ignorance and prejudice. The Council on Foreign Relations and other organizations are doing their part. If the people do not acquire wisdom, it will be their own fault in the main. These three volumes should find an important place in our libraries and classrooms.

J. FRED RIPPY.

#### KEY TO MUCH POLITICAL HISTORY

THOMAS PELHAM HOLLES: DUKE OF NEWCASTLE; HIS EARLY POLITICAL CAREER 1693-1724. By Stebleton H. Nulle, New York University. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1931. xi, 204 pp.

No single man is the key to so much of the political history of England in the eighteenth century as Thomas Pelham Holles, Duke of Newcastle. None left to posterity ampler materials for a biography. Hitherto none has been so entirely neglected. The very mass of his papers helped to make the task of writing his life so formidable as to deter any but the most courageous. His family produced no one in the nineteenth century to compile and publish a life and letters of the type produced then for so many public men of the eighteenth century for the convenience of later historians.

Dr. Nulle in his slender volume offers a first instalment of a work which, it is to be hoped, is only just begun. He brings the story to 1724, when the Duke was first appointed secretary of state, evidence that he was thus early a major figure in English politics. He was to remain a member of the inner circle of the ruling class more than forty years longer. Private papers exist for this later period in a much larger volume than for the early years treated in the book now published.

Dr. Nulle is to be commended for his courage in undertaking so large a subject. He has succeeded much better than might have been expected, considering the difficulties of the task. In writing the life of

as a politician, he has naturally had to depend upon men earlier in the field for some of his political history. Where they have been weak, he has been able to fit his subject into the picture they have outlined less easily. Correspondingly, his account of the Duke is more convincing where the political history has been better done. More and more as he goes on, he will find it necessary to change the perspective of the familiar outline if he is to give Newcastle the place in history he deserves.

This book itself adds materially to the efforts already made by scholars to remedy the injustice done to Newcastle by historians influenced by such diarists and letter writers as Horace Walpole and Lord Hervey. Apparently the author attempted to write in a style appropriate to the subject he had in hand. If he does not in every case sustain through his chapters the manner in which he begins them, he nevertheless shows that he has a tender regard for his readers, unusual in first attempts at historical composition. The book is therefore to be welcomed for what it is in itself; even more, as a promise of what may be built upon the foundation it lays.

W. T. LAPRADE.

### A STATE BUILDS ROADS

THE STATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM OF NORTH CAROLINA. By Cecil Kenneth Brown. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1931. xi, 260 pp. \$2.50.

The highways of North Carolina have justly received much acclaim throughout the nation. This book, coming somewhat as a sequel to a former book by Professor Brown on railroad building in North Carolina, is a very interesting story of how those highways came to be built. It is clearly and interestingly written so that anyone may read it with pleasure, and it contains much that is of value to the student of government, economics, or sociology. The style is easy and pleasant, and the arrangement is compact, logical, and pleasing. The work affords many evidences of original research, conferences with highway leaders, and critical analysis.

After a short survey of the poor highways of the state in the nineteenth century, the author proceeds to outline the growth of the good roads movement, beginning about 1900, with Mecklenburg County leading the way. For many years, with varying programs, the counties carried on. After the war, due to the enormous increase in the use of automobiles, the demand for a state highway system emerged, and in 1921 the state took up the burden of building roads. Probably the most interesting chapter of the book is the one describing the fight in the 1921

legislature which resulted in the first large issue of highway bonds. This issue was for \$50,000,000 and marked unmistakably the success of the advocates of good roads. Later issues brought the total of bonds to \$115,000,000.

In succeeding chapters the author traces the development of the highway system, describing the allocation of funds to the different parts of the state, the location of routes, and the choice of road types. In particular he describes the growth of the Highway Commission, giving short sketches of its members as they served at different times, and telling how the organization was built up. The highest praise is accorded the Commission for the impartiality, the industry, the efficiency, and the superlative integrity which it has displayed at all times.

The author has only commendation for the state's policy of borrowing heavily for road building. He says that the only objection to this method as opposed to the "pay-as-you-go" method is the additional cost of interest, and that, strictly speaking, this is not valid, because roads at present are worth more than roads in the future. However, in the light of recent developments, two other objections might possibly be advanced. The first is the danger of a changing price level. It is entirely probable that our highways, built at present prices, would cost several million dollars less than they actually did cost between 1921 and 1929. The second objection is that when roads are being built with borrowed funds it is possible that the citizens of the state may underestimate the burden of repaying the loans and build more roads than they would if the costs had to be borne immediately. It has generally been assumed that the financing of our highway system is almost automatic, and that our automobile and gasoline taxes will easily care for all expenses and retire the highway debt of \$115,000,000 by about 1951. But with the first heavy issues of bonds coming due this year and next, with increasing maintenance charges, and with a stationary or declining automobile registration, results may not be so favorable in the coming years. This is not to question the author's conclusion that the state has benefited greatly by the policy of borrowing; but it is possible that it was carried to unsafe limits.

In the closing chapter the author mentions briefly the widespread effects of the excellent highways and the increased use of automobiles upon the social and business life, and upon the educational system of the state. Two highway maps, one of the system as contemplated by the law of 1921, and one of the system as it actually was in 1930, accompany the book and add much to its interest.

Throughout the book, the author's treatment of individuals and their parts in the highway movement is excellent. With concise, well-chosen words he introduces them, and then deftly fits them into their places in the general picture.

The book is a valuable contribution; its reading furnishes a happy combination of pleasure and profit.

B. U. RATCHFORD.

#### ALL THOSE SAD YOUNG WOMEN

**THREE VIRGINS OF HAWORTH.** By Emilie and Georges Romieu. Translated from the French by Roberts Tapley. New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1930.

**NOVELS AND NOVELISTS.** By Katherine Mansfield. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930.

From time to time we learn wisdom of a sort. We learn never to resent a photographer's "Look pleasant please"; rather we smile and smile, knowing that after death a pest of small minds will settle upon us and mourn like gnats among the river sallows of their own drivel, the frustration and tragedy of our lives. In fact the younger we die the more loud will be the minor cacchinations. If it be true that the good die young, then the good must be sad . . . or only the sad good. To give the illusion of happiness is apparently to live on and on, to become a *Struldbug* of joy. Thus far goes such logic, harsh and crabbed as dull fools suppose.

Again then we have been given . . . or as Mr. Garrod would say "some of us have bought" . . . a Brontë book. Printer, reach into your scrap-heap and get up those faithful adjectives, *stark* and *grim*. If you can't find them, *shrdlu* will do as well. Critic, prepare your praises for the unity of effect, the fine harmony of melodious minors. But what we looked for was a lifting of the burthen of the mystery; what we got was a heavier and wearier weight of unintelligibility. Happy are the Brontës that they escaped knowledge of such lachrymose patronage. Limited females of an inauspicious generation as they were, they had their moments. They had the pleasure of rejecting a number of suitors. They were of the elect, denizens of the free realm of the mind, and enjoyed—as who would not?—superiority to their environment and to their neighbors. Let future biographers focus on the power of Heathcliff and the pride of Jane Eyre.

From a fate similar to that of the Brontës, J. Middleton Murry has partially rescued Katherine Mansfield, by reprinting her book-review essays on her contemporaries. The most valuable emanation from this volume is the author's vigorous and penetrating sense of humor. And so the delicate, poignant brilliance of her style, and her early death are set off by laughter, raillery, and gayety. While she was an excellent critic, she smiled the slim, feasting smile. To blather unduly in her behalf after this would be, in her own excellent phrase, "too mush of a mushness."

MARIE UPDIKE WHITE.

#### A FRESH SURVEY

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND TO 1216. By William Alfred Morris. Macmillan Co., 1930, pp. xii, 429, \$2.75.

For some time there has been great need for a fresh survey of English constitutional history from earliest times to the present. Much has been done by a host of scholars, since the days of Stubbs and May, in investigating the different periods and phases of that subject, but as yet nothing has appeared incorporating the results of their investigations in a comprehensive work by either a single author or a group of authors. About ten years ago Professor George Burton Adams published a volume covering the whole field of English constitutional history, but obviously it was impossible for him to incorporate very much of the new findings in so brief a compass, and as a matter of fact most of the new material he presented was what he had already worked out for himself in the Norman and Angevin periods.

Fortunately there is now under way a series of volumes that promises to present the students of English constitutional history the much needed summary of the results of the recent investigations in this field. The first volume in this series, the book under review, is by Professor W. A. Morris of the University of California. The others are planned to appear in due time by other distinguished English constitutional historians.

Of the various periods in English constitutional history, that which Professor Morris has covered in his book contains the knottiest problems for the historian. More controversies, sometimes very heated, have been waged over questions that have arisen concerning the institutions of this period, especially those of Anglo-Saxon times, than of any other, and as might be expected, the newer authorities have not only dif-

fered with the older ones but have oftentimes disagreed with each other. Professor Morris's problem has therefore been to decide which of the conflicting views and opinions are the sounder and safer to follow, and to strike a balance between them when that seems to be the most advisable thing to do. His many years of study and his special contributions in the field of medieval English constitutional history have eminently qualified him for this difficult task, and the work he has just produced stands very much to his credit.

The book is divided into four parts, the first part dealing with Germanic Origins, the second with Anglo-Saxon Foundations, the third with the Norman Monarchy and Institutional Innovations, the fourth with Administrative and Constitutional Development under the Angevin Kings. Certain well defined themes are developed in the different chapters in each part, and in this way the chief features that characterized the constitutional development in each period are given separate treatment. Special attention has been given to local institutions of government in the Anglo-Saxon and the Norman periods.

About the only adverse criticism the reviewer feels inclined to offer is that too much attention has been given at times to political events. A certain amount of political history is needed, one will readily admit, as a background for constitutional history, but that background should consist of only the main essentials with very little of detail. Part four of Professor Morris's book, especially in the last two chapters, varies most from this standard. The struggles of Henry II and John with the church are related at greater length than is necessary in a book of this character and not enough attention is given to an interpretation of those struggles or their outcome. The analysis of the Great Charter, in view of its great historical significance, is altogether too brief. At least one could wish that it had been made a little longer.

E. M. VIOLETTE.

### THREE BIOGRAPHIES

**WILLIAM CONGREVE.** By D. Crane Taylor. Oxford University Press, London: Humphrey Milford, 1931. Pp. xi + 252.

**OTWAY AND LEE. BIOGRAPHY FROM A BAROQUE AGE.** By Roswell Gray Ham. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1931. Pp. vii + 250.

**THE MATCHLESS ORINDA.** By Philip Webster Souers. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931. Pp. viii + 326.

One approaches a new biography of Congreve with a considerable degree of expectation, which is in danger of facing an equal degree of disappointment. And Mr. Taylor has almost justified one's fear; for in spite of its definite merits his biography is lacking in the verve and vivacity which one is bound to ask in any presentation of such a hero, and while he is not stinting in his praise he is also not fair to his subject. Congreve, if he could be so unpolished as to express his mind on the matter (and he once lost his temper with Collier), would confess himself a little disappointed. The theme calls for almost perfect handling. It is not that one wishes to be regaled with that flashy brilliance and gay gaudiness which are always too much with us these days. Congreve would disapprove of this too, for even his *Witwouds* are superior to such pinwheel sparklings. But to hold the mirror up to the ingenuous Mr. Congreve one must have caught some of his cold fire, his hard flame, and his clear splendor. Mr. Taylor is not lacking in good phrases, either; but still we are not content. Congreve is, as the author admits, a difficult subject for biography, for we know very little of his private life and most of the good things have been said about his plays. Mr. Taylor's additions to our previous knowledge are duly noted in the Preface: they are interesting, but not exciting. The use of contemporary newspapers is a step forward, since they have often been neglected, even by thorough workers. The chapters on Congreve's four comedies and his one tragedy are adequate, the best being on *The Way of the World*, though the author goes out of his way to defend the plot and is wrong on the sources of Millamant's marriage provisos. The running summary of Collier's *Short View*, the survey of the ensuing controversy, and particularly the bibliography of the controversy, supplementing Lowe's, are valuable.

Dr. Ham's plan of a dual biography looks at first unpromising and perhaps quixotic. And an opening chapter on Otway's youth, entitled "An Ode to Pity," followed by a chapter on Lee's youth, entitled "The Vicar of Bray," tends to confirm our apprehensions. Furthermore, we find at once a lively style verging on the flamboyant, with free rein given to the interpreting imagination, and a keen eye directed to the pointed or the picturesque detail. It is a stiff pace, but if we catch the stride and are dexterous enough with our fingers (if one may put it so) in following the ample notes condemned to the outer darkness where an appendix should be (and why, if I may parenthesize again, will people put footnotes two hundred odd pages away from the things they are meant to illustrate?) it is, I say, a stiff pace, but if we can

match the tempo, the reward is almost commensurate to the effort. We are satisfied with the sound sense of many critical observations, we are impressed by the ability to muster and control a large body of multi-form information gathered from many scattered corners (in happy contrast to Father Summer's incohesion), we are almost reconciled to the rhetorical strain. This is not the place to speak of Dr. Ham's contributions of factual detail, his attention to various matters eliciting keen and valuable comment, or to his general illumination of the subject. It is a rich and scholarly volume—a little overwrought, I repeat, but no doubt as Dr. Ham wanted it: 'baroque.'

After these heroic tragedians, Dr. Souers' heroine raises but a faint voice. Dr. Souers has a small plot to till and he goes about it leisurely; after Dr. Ham's his method seems almost languid. Katherine Fowler was born in London on the first day of 1632; at the age of twenty-six she became Katherine Philips and went to live in the tiny Welsh town of Cardigan. Three years later she met her beloved Lucasia, who was at once adopted into the still somewhat mysterious Society of Friendship. Thenceforward her life was one of assiduous cultivation of the imagination, vivified by occasional visits to London and by the glorious year in Dublin, during which she translated Corneille's *Pompey*. Dr. Souers has traced out the data of her friends and friendships, but the figures remain a little pale like their pastoral names, the Clitanders and the Philocleas, the Ardelias and the Palaemons. Four persons stand out, however, and with their connections weave themselves into what is almost a story: Orinda devoted to Lucasia, Poliarchus paying suit to Lucasia and supported by Orinda in the interests both of her own friendship for him and his political influence on behalf of her husband Antenor. In an age distinguished rather for gallantry than for platonics, the tale is altogether pleasing, but it is not exciting. The basis of it is the *Letters from Orinda to Poliarchus*, first published in 1705. One feels that Dr. Souers has carefully preserved the seventeenth-century atmosphere, and certainly he communicates some of the warmth of Orinda's suppressed intensity, even while he subordinates events and magnifies details. His final chapter endeavors to place her (without undue praise of his heroine) as a poetess, the first Englishwoman to bear that title, a follower of the early seventeenth-century Cavalier tradition who developed with, or even a little ahead of, the movement which became the Restoration, and so set the marks of point, brilliance (subdued in her case, to be sure), and neatness which still later became the characteristics of the eighteenth century. She even had traces of the

heroic strain, carried over from France. Dr. Souers does not exaggerate her poetic rank, however. He overreaches somewhat in claiming her as "more real than almost any other poet of the seventeenth century," but he has nearly justified even this by 'restoring' for us her self-portrait in the Letters to Poliarchus.

P. F. BAUM.

### SOME IMPORTANT LETTERS

THE HUSKISSON PAPERS. Edited by Lewis Melville (Pseud. Lewis H. Benjamin). New York: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1931. xi, 352 pp.

The compiler stretches the meaning of the term beyond what it will bear when he calls this book a "biography." His longest consecutive contribution is the first five and a half pages, and the information in them is none too accurate. The rest of the volume consists chiefly of letters to and from Huskisson, most of them transcribed from manuscripts in the British Museum. Most of the footnotes, and the more useful ones, indicate the location of the manuscripts in that repository. The proofreading was careless. The index is inadequate. The "Biographical Notes" at the end of the volume are chiefly abbreviated extracts from cyclopedias. They ought to have been inserted on the pages where they would identify the persons concerned in a way to help the reader, if they deserved to be included at all. In that case it would have been clear to the author that at least one of the men described in the notes could not have been the person referred to in the text. The Thomas Sheridan in the notes (p. 342) is said to have lived 1719-1788; the man of the same name in the text is said to have stood for parliament against Huskisson in 1804 (p. 53). In spite of these editorial blemishes, students of the history of England in the nineteenth century will welcome the publication in so convenient a form of these important letters.

W. T. LAPRADE.

### THE AESTHETICS OF SOUND

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF RIME: AN ESSAY ON THE AESTHETICS OF SOUND. By Henry Lanz. Stanford University Press: Stanford University, California, 1931. xiv + 365 pp.

The Preface begins: "This book is a byproduct of the author's studies in logic." This promises well for a new study of rime, and our assurance grows as we read in the Introduction: "For a successful discussion of the numerous problems concerning the nature and value of rime a preliminary analysis of the plain physical facts on which it rests is of

very great importance." The old eclectic apriorism of taste and feeling we put behind us and proceed by the scientific approach, that is, by the modern physical experiments with human speech-sounds, to study rime as a natural phenomenon. First then we study the vowels as musical tones, or rather, tone-clusters, their mean frequencies, their approximate representation in musical script, and their melodic relations. If we are technically equipped to follow the discussion, we absorb it eagerly, but from time to time we come upon conclusions we were hardly prepared for—for example, that the melody of "Hear the mellow wedding bells" is (apart from the rhythm) "practically identical" with the leitmotif of *The Flying Dutchman*. And if we accept this, we are still puzzled to know its significance. Presently also we are disturbed by what appears to be a failure to recognize real differences in the acoustic qualities of the vowels as distinguished from their musical pitch. Only when they are whispered do our vowels have a constant pitch; when they are voiced, as in common speech, the pitch varies and the melody varies accordingly. Moreover, we notice also a tendency to confuse the written letter with the sounded vowel of which the letter is only an imperfect symbol—for example, in finding that the melody of *surely* repeats the melody of *until*. And finally, though the influence of neighboring consonants on the quality of a vowel is recognized, it is wholly left out of account, and the vowel (its mean frequency) is taken by itself as an absolute fact for the purpose of musical analysis. With these strictures noted, we may consider the results thus far. Rime, the repetition of identical or closely similar sounds, appears in stressed syllables of verse and determines the melody of the verse. End-rime serves to give the key-note and functions as the tonic to which the melodic line returns as in the cadence. This is of course simple and hardly needs to be more than stated to be accepted. The author's apparatus of musical and acoustical explanations is therefore interesting and enlightening for itself but not essential for the support of his main contention.

The next chapter, on The Theory of Riming Consonants, considers both historically and aesthetically the function of imperfect rime (mainly as discord—one would prefer the term dissonance), touches in passing the rôle of unaccented vowels (more properly, the vowels of unstressed syllables) as they concern imperfect rime, and concludes that the significance of consonants is to "help us to arrange verse into rythmical groups." This is something to ponder on. Nevertheless, it is certainly improper to quarrel with an author because he concerns himself with what he set out to do rather than with what we should like him to have

done,—that is, to complain of his neglecting the musical characteristics of language, with all their complexities, in the sole interests of one, rime,—and we are to be properly grateful for the light his careful analyses throw on one aspect while we regret that his treatment overlooks others which we feel to be more important and fundamental.

We pass over two chapters on The Origin of Rime and a History of Rime Theories, and come to the long chapter (sixty-five pages) on Rime and Rhythm, which is the most valuable in the book. This begins with a consideration of the nature of rhythm and meter, acknowledges the importance of time in English verse but (oddly enough for one pre-occupied with musical analogies) waives the point, wrestles (as all metrists do) with the first line of *Paradise Lost*, and presents a new scheme of indicating verse-rhythm (taken from the Russian poet, Andrei Baily) based on a set of devices for registering "interruptions" of the basic rhythm (missing accents, trochees, spondees, added syllables). This is very arbitrary and incidentally revives the old heresy of "substituted" feet, but it is useful in showing, a little clumsily perhaps, certain effects and practices of various poets. The latter part of the chapter is devoted to rime: "rime restores the rhythm distorted by interruptions" and determines the music of the different stanzaic forms. The latter observation is obvious, the former is disputable. Rephrased a bit later, it means that rime "attracts our attention to the rhythmically important places, the most important place being the end of each line"—where "most important" seems to beg the question and accentuates the fallacy.

The two final chapters are on The Logic of Emotions and The Controversy Concerning the Value of Rime. The conclusion of all is that "Rime is a great historical force. It is an additional triumph of modern science that, instead of marveling at the mystery of this force, we can 'dissect it as a corpse' and study it in our physical and psychophysical laboratories." Yes: and the study is fruitful of many valuable enlightenments along the way, though it has not achieved the scientific accuracy and objectivity we were led to hope for. The attempt to explain aesthetic experience by physical apparatus and laboratory experiment is still unaccomplished.

PAUL F. BAUM.

## UNCLE SAM DRIFTS TOWARD EMPIRE

**THE MARTIAL SPIRIT. A STUDY OF OUR WAR WITH SPAIN.** By Walter Millis. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. xii, 427 pp. Price \$4.00.

In this neat and amply illustrated volume the author has divined and admirably expressed the complex causes of our war with Spain and suggested as well the tremendous significance of that struggle for the United States. He admits that his attitude throughout has been somewhat satirical, but no good reason appears for objecting to his contention that the war had its satirical aspects. It was essentially a war of the politicians and journalists, with the latter playing a more important rôle than the former. Of course the American people are subject to the criticism that they allowed themselves to be easily led. The only excuse which can legitimately be advanced in their behalf is that they had deep humanitarian sympathies which could be aroused without difficulty and they lacked critical judgment. They believed what they read in the newspapers; they had not learned to assume a skeptical attitude toward propaganda. Perhaps it must be admitted that they were energetic, rash, confident of the great power of their country, and dominated by the acquisitive instinct.

As for the politicians and journalists, it would be difficult to deny that they acted in an extremely selfish and disgraceful fashion. Two powerful and unscrupulous editors resorted to "jingoism" and sensationalism in order to increase their subscriptions and raise their advertising profits, absolutely abandoning the great function of journalists: that of ascertaining and presenting the truth. As long as democracy allows itself to be led by Pulitzers and Hearsts its future cannot be safe. The politicians, on their part, made the Cuban question the football of politics, using the issue to put their opponents in an awkward position or to divert attention from such domestic problems as the currency or the clashes between capital and labor. Moreover, both the politicians and the newspapers embarrassed the government in the prosecution of the war.

With reference to McKinley, the author correctly notes that the President desired to avoid a war, but feared the political consequences of a pacific policy; he desired peace, but lacked the courage to assume the risk of defying the war party. He had a splendid conscience but little backbone.

The result was a war without sufficient cause. Fortunately, however, it was not a bloody or destructive war and its results may con-

ceivably furnish some justification for a struggle whose provocation reflects little credit upon the aggressor. This will depend upon how the United States rules the empire which came into its hands and wields the new power which it acquired. At the end of the war it found itself in possession of the Philippine Islands, Hawaii, Porto Rico, and a part of Samoa, to say nothing of Guam and certain other minor possessions—found itself in short upon the great stage of world politics.

By the end of 1900 the consequences began to be realized, but they have not yet fully developed. In 1903 Roosevelt "took" the Panama Canal Zone; in 1904 he proclaimed the United States the "international policeman" of the Caribbean. "Not four years away [from 1901] there was the Treaty of Portsmouth—Russia and Japan sitting down by the New Hampshire seacoast to settle the Far Eastern Question under our good offices. Six years away was Algeciras and American delegates at a general conference of Europe; eight years away there was Admiral Evans—'Fighting Bob' himself—going around the world in a navy second only to those of Great Britain and Germany, and going under orders that he might have to fight Japan on the way. Sixteen years away there was preparedness and a naval building program 'second to none'; and in another year there was war—war this time in desperate earnest. Eighteen years away there was a tall figure standing in the white glare of a world's urgent necessity. . . . And thirty years away there was America, rich, powerful, commanding a greater economic and perhaps political strength in the world than any nation which had ever gone before—aloof, untrammeled, admitting no restraints upon the uses to which that power might be put. But after that?"

Who would dare to predict the outcome? Will the new venture prove best for us, our colonies and protectorates, and the world as a whole? The historian has little disposition to assume the rôle of a prophet, and if he did so with a reasonably full grasp of mankind's long past his utterances might not be rosy with optimism. There are Egypt, Greece, Rome, and other empires which have had their day and ceased to be. But as a historian he may properly note that the United States drifted into empire and world politics—drifted without preparation or policy.

Mr. Millis has told the story with admirable frankness and, on the whole, with accuracy and good judgment. There are a few errors in detail but the *ensemble* rings true. It is a notable work.

J. FRED RIPPY.

## A USEFUL SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

ENGLISH LITERARY PERIODICALS. By Walter Graham. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1930. Pp. 424.

Any one who has paged through the British Museum's bulky catalogue of periodicals, or Crane and Kaye's *Census* or Muddiman's *Tercentary Handlist* knows that Professor Graham faced a very formidable bulk of material in undertaking a history of English literary periodicals. Within the first half of the nineteenth century alone the British Museum contains about a thousand periodicals offering literary material, ranging in extent from one number to scores of volumes. To cover all the material thoroughly is an obvious impossibility within four hundred pages. Professor Graham has managed well to be able to say something definite about nearly seven hundred periodicals from the seventeenth century to the twentieth. Since this averages only about half a page for each periodical the reader can well understand why in places the book reads like a descriptive catalogue. Nothing else was possible, unless it had been devoted entirely to influences, origins, tendencies, and other general matters, presupposing an acquaintance with particular periodicals. Professor Graham's own book, however, is the only one from which such an acquaintance could be obtained. He might better have written two books, one on the individual periodicals and another on the general aspects of the periodical.

The purpose which he set himself was to show the importance of periodicals on the development of English authors, the development of periodical types, and to notice individually the more important literary serials. The first of these he accomplishes by linking nearly all the important names in English literature to one or more periodicals to which they contributed and from which they drew part of their sustenance. The sum total is impressive, but except in a few cases such as Steele, Addison, and Scott, the treatment is necessarily too brief to be of great particular value. Had Professor Graham's plan included more attention to the financial management and the political and religious complications and environment of the periodicals this part of his purpose might have been more fully achieved.

The second purpose is more satisfactorily realized. Professor Graham threads the mazes of individual publication, delicately as Agag, showing the pre-natal influences, gradual development and inter-influences of the various types of English periodicals. Particularly good is his treatment of the predecessors and the imitators of the *Tatler*, rather too sweeping in his ascription of the origin of the nineteenth-century

vituperative review to William Kenrick and his *London Preview of English and Foreign Literature* (1775-1780).

The principal value of the book lies in the descriptions of individual periodicals. The student of almost any literary problem may find his way leading toward some little-known magazine. Professor Graham's excellent index points the way to several sketches of some length, like that of the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and to hundreds of brief descriptions. Every reviewer, of course, will wonder why certain periodicals were included and others excluded. The present reviewer, for example, hardly thinks the *Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* or *Ollier's Miscellany* worth the amount of attention they receive, and would have relished more attention to the *Atlas* and the radical press—which after all, contains as much literary matter as some of the periodicals described. If so much attention is to be given *The Liberal*, the storm of conservative opposition which had so much to do with its failure might properly receive notice. The excellent *London Magazine and Monthly Critical and Dramatic Review* (1820) merits some notice along with the *London Magazine* and *Theatrical Inquisitor* which are described and with which it was somewhat puzzlingly connected. The *John Bull Magazine* (1824) is less a magazine of humor, as Professor Graham classifies it, than a satiric scandal magazine.

Such points of detail should not weigh heavily against the intelligent pioneer accumulation and organization of facts with which Professor Graham has put scholars in his debt—book covers are not elastic. Some of these faults proceed from a difficulty inherent in his title. Very few literary periodicals have been entirely free from religious or political bias, and some have been subtly and almost invisibly dominated by one or the other. No one knows this better than Professor Graham, as some half-dozen statements about particular periodicals make quite clear. It was necessary, however, to exclude political and religious journalism, and in so doing he has drawn the line too sharply and minimized the effect of two important exterior influences on literary journalism. Perhaps a subsequent edition will contain additional chapters dealing with some of the general influences which can not be satisfactorily handled along with individual sketches of numerous periodicals. In such an event—to descend to a very small point indeed—perhaps the valuable bibliography will rectify the omission of T. R. Lounsbury's *Early Life and Times of Lord Tennyson*, which contains much good matter on early nineteenth century periodicals.

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

## AMERICA'S PSYCHOLOGICAL POET

AN INTRODUCTION TO EDWIN ARLINGTON ROBINSON. By Charles Cestre. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 227.

THE GLORY OF THE NIGHTINGALES. By Edwin Arlington Robinson. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1930. Pp. 83.

Professor Cestre has long been one of the most successful interpreters of English and American literature to France. He may now be said to have extended his interpretation to the Americans themselves, since the present book grew out of a series of lectures delivered at Bryn Mawr College in 1925. He possesses a high degree of sympathetic comprehension, that most valuable quality of the literary interpreter. Poem after poem he makes more lucid for the general reader, and in passage after passage he gives more definite meaning to such expressions as "psychological insight," "reticence," "creative artist," "great technician," etc., so conveniently and meaninglessly attached to Robinson by many reviewers. He finds little difficulty in showing Robinson's superiority in Arthurian materials to Tennyson, Arnold, and Swinburne. In these days, however, a victory over the Victorians is almost too cheaply won to be worth claiming.

Robinson's general philosophy of life he fails to explain quite so clearly, but that is probably because the poet is either too wise or too "reticent" to furnish sufficient data. Professor Cestre does vindicate him triumphantly against the charge of pessimism and defeatism and shows us a poet who accepts life graciously, with a stoical decorum, sees its real essence in the inner rather than the outer struggle, and finds partial solvents in sympathetic, aloof observation and controlled humor. On the last point his treatment of "Captain Craig," too often passed over hastily for its obvious faults, is especially good.

Professor Cestre is himself far too acute an observer not to be aware of Robinson's faults—his occasional digressiveness and oversubtlety—he acknowledges them fully, yet his easy volubility somehow persuades us that they are of little account after all. Here he reminds us, a little unfortunately, of the late Mr. Stopford-Brooke.

Giving full weight to its fine flashes of insight, one might still wish that the book possessed a little more of Mr. Robinson's own sense of word economy. Still, it is a far better book than most of the similar books about Browning, Robinson's great predecessor. Judged by the double test of whether it will make the non-Robinsonian reader still more intimately a Robinsonian, the answer is in both cases a decided yes. The very virtues of the book, however, and the certainty that

there will be other and worse ones, and Robinson societies a-la-Browning, hints a weakness in Robinson, great poet as he is, that protagonistic critics like Professor Cestre (good interpreter as *he* is) will always be a little blind to.

*The Glory of the Nightingales* belongs to that most distinctive type of Robinson's poetry an early example of which the poet himself described as a "dime novel in verse." The description was bad, however, for none of these poetic novels of contemporary life possess abundant, rapid, exterior action. *The Glory of the Nightingales*, like the rest, has just enough action on which to hang a melodrama which takes place mainly in the mind. The poet takes as long getting Malory to the scene of his intended vengeance as Sterne takes in producing Tristam Shandy. The reader is so fully absorbed in Malory's vengeance that he is as fully surprised as Malory to find that vengeance on Nightingale can now be nothing but a hollow formality. Nightingale, facing death from disease, calmly superior to Malory's pistol, tells his own story of how he was willing to ruin Malory and instead caused Agatha's death. Both vengeances have gone astray, and Nightingale's unpalliating account is such a fine piece of characterization that the reader must sympathize with him, too. His suicide the next day and his legacy to Malory add little to the interest, which is all in the strong passions of the two characters. There is the usual interest in the intellectual power of Robinsonian conversation and in the suggestive power of the imagery. It is not a *Tristam* or a *Cavender's House*, but it is a poem not unworthy of America's greatest psychological artist.

NEWMAN I. WHITE.

### BRIEF COMMENT

SIR GEORGE ETHEREGE: A STUDY IN RESTORATION COMEDY (1660-1680). By Francis Smith McCamic. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1931. 95 pp.

Miss McCamic (now Mrs. Tinker) has had her Master's thesis (at Smith College) printed. It is a first-rate M.A. thesis, though there are many evidences of the pupil pen. It covers most of the Etherege literature, critical and learned, without pretense at original contribution; it places Etherege definitely as "a minor dramatist, with obviously no claim to rank in the same class with a Shakespeare"; and it confirms one's belief that a Master's thesis need not be published as a book.

P. F. B.

ELIZABETHAN DRAMATISTS OTHER THAN SHAKESPEARE. By E. H. C. Oliphant. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1931. 1511 pp. \$4.25.

In this one volume Mr. Oliphant has included all of the plays of his two-volume work, *Shakespeare and His Fellow Dramatists*, except those by Shakespeare. The original work contained forty-five plays; this one has thirty. One is tempted to wonder why this idea did not strike Mr. Oliphant sooner; even in a two-volume work the space allotted to Shakespeare, who is accessible in competent and cheap editions to every student, could have been given with profit to playwrights whose work is not readily accessible.

The selections of plays are admirable and the critical apparatus is entirely in keeping with Mr. Oliphant's high reputation as an Elizabethan. There is sufficient scholarship to make the plays intelligible and not enough to make them dull for the general student of literature for whom they are intended. This anthology should prove a God-send to the many "honors courses" in English literature being established about the country.

To one not engrossed in the world of Elizabethan drama Mr. Oliphant's praise of several dramas seems a bit superlative; *Volpone* and *The Yorkshire Tragedy*, for examples. This is no doubt the familiar old disease of perspective to which every man is subject when dealing with his own special province.

F. K. MITCHELL.

ROOSEVELT, WILSON AND THE FEDERAL RESERVE LAW. By Colonel Elisha Ely Garrison. Boston: The Christopher Publishing Company, 1931. pp. 367. Price \$3.00.

This is a most interesting volume, although its reliability is doubtful. The "Composite Foreword" written by a "group of the author's friends" is unsigned. Roosevelt, Wilson, Leonard Wood, and others are said to have thought highly of his talents, but no letter from any of them is published. Only three or four excerpts from alleged letters are quoted. His main purpose is to convince the reader that Garrison was the originator of the Federal Reserve Law, yet little convincing evidence is presented. A few photostats of letters from Roosevelt, Wilson, and others would be a welcome support for his claims. He says that his private files were rifled in 1917 and the letters of Roosevelt taken from them; but he gives no excuse for failure to present copies of correspondence from others. Despite the fact that Garrison reveals considerable knowledge of currency and banking, one lays down the volume with a feeling of skepticism regarding its main contention.

Nevertheless the volume holds the reader's attention from beginning to end, and it contains many things not strictly germane to the subject; such, for instance, as accounts of the Spanish-American War and several political campaigns. As a story the work has considerable merit; as history it is of doubtful value.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

C. A. Dinsmore, *THE ENGLISH BIBLE AS LITERATURE*. Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin Co. Price \$2.00—332 pp.

Leslie Nathan Broughton, *THE WORDSWORTH COLLECTION*. Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Library. Price \$2.00—124 pp.

R. W. Babcock, *THE GENESIS OF SHAKESPEAREAN IDOLATRY*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 307 pp.

C. A. Browne, *OUR NATIONAL BALLADS*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. Price \$2.50—315 pp.

Clara Barrus, *WHITMAN AND BURROUGHS*. Boston, Mass.: Houghton-Mifflin. Price \$5.00—392 pp.

T. J. Woofter, Jr., *THE PLIGHT OF CIGARETTE TOBACCO*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Price \$1.00—99 pp.

Edmund C. Mower, *INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT*. New York: D. C. Heath & Co. Price \$4.00—736 pp.

Salvador de Madariaga, *I. AMERICANS*. New York: Oxford University Press. 148 pp.

H. R. Huse, *THE PSYCHOLOGY OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 231 pp.

Thomas Pulman Holles, *NULLE*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

D. D. Hoover, *A HANDBOOK FOR REPORTERS*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. Price \$2.50—327 pp.

Addison Hibbard, *STORIES OF THE SOUTH OLD AND NEW*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Price \$3.00—520 pp.

Hewitt H. Howland, *DWIGHT WHITNEY MORROW*. New York: The Century Co. Price \$1.50—91 pp.

William T. Hutchinson, *CYRUS HALL McCORMICK*. New York: The Century Co. Price \$5.00—493 pp.

WORLD MINERALS AND WORLD POLITICS. New York: The Whittlesey House.

THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE GREAT WAR. New York: Henry Holt & Co.

Lothrop Stoddard, *MASTER OF MANHATTAN*. New York: Longmans Green & Co. Price \$3.50—279 pp.

Thomas Middleton Raynor, *COLERIDGE'S SHAKESPEAREAN CRITICISM*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. Vol. I, 256, Vol. II, 375 pp. Price \$10.00 the set.

Frank Lawrence Owsley, *KING COTTON DIPLOMACY*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Price \$5.00—617 pp.

Frank Lawrence Owsley, *STATE RIGHTS IN THE CONFEDERACY*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Price \$3.00—290 pp.



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